



TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

1. *On the Dissolution of Parliament.*
2. *On the Effects of that Measure.*
3. *On what THE PEOPLE OUGHT NOW TO DO.*

Kensington, 27th April, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

LAST Friday, the 22d of April, will be a memorable day in the history of this country. The transactions of that day are recorded in the report (inserted in another part of this paper) of the proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament, and *such proceedings* it is impossible for you to look at, without calling to mind the many scores of times that I have told you to be prepared for the most desperate of deeds on the part of the seat-fillers, whenever the seats should appear to be in *real danger*. It is now clear, that they, *until the last moment*, relied on their power to prevent the King from dissolving the Parliament; and the extent of their mortification at being defeated here is well depicted in their *ungovernable rage*, the equal of which has seldom been witnessed amongst men in any rank of life.

The Ministers had no course left but that of *dissolution* or of *resignation*; and fidelity to the King and people, and especially to the former, demanded, with voice imperative, the former; because, to follow the latter course would, in effect, have been to *denounce the King* as being opposed to reform, which would have been to give a blow, not only to the King's character, but to *kingly government* in this country. It

was necessary also to do the thing at the time at, and in the manner in which, it was done. There was no time to be lost: a few *minutes* later would have brought an address from the Lords *against* a dissolution. There was no doubt that this address would have been carried; and though it might have been *rejected* by the King, still it would have made the breach wider, and have produced great embarrassment. As to the *manner*, it was wise in the highest degree for the King to prorogue the Parliament *in person*. Indeed, this was become, in some sort, *necessary*, on account of the reports about *his disinclination to dissolve*, about *tenders of resignation*, and the like. The going *in person*, when it might have been so easily avoided, and when his thus going in such a case was contrary to custom, put his good-will towards reform beyond all doubt, proved him to be cordially with his Ministers and his people, and sent the opposing Members back to the country with a mark of royal as well as of popular disapprobation on their heads.

But now, what are to be THE EFFECTS of this great act of the King? Those who imagine that the dissolution has *of itself* settled the matter, are very much deceived. It has *enabled the people* to settle the matter in a *quiet manner*; but the result will depend *wholly on their exertions*: the Ministry and the King have really done *all that they can do*: the rest must be done by the people, or one of two things will take place; namely, NO REFORM, or a GENERAL CONVULSION. It is in the power of the people to prevent both; and I am sure, that as far as my readers are concerned, no exertions will be wanting. But before pointing out *what those exertions ought to be*, it is necessary that we have a full view of the dangers to be avoided, and of the evils to be prevented; for, otherwise, it is not reasonable to expect that due exertions will be made.



The boroughmongers have the strongest of all possible motives to defeat the bill, and their exertions will be commensurate with those motives. Indeed, their exertions are visible to all eyes. It is said, that they have half a million of money already subscribed for the carrying on of this horrid war against King and people; and their language is as bold and resolute as their measures. But without any of these open indications, we must upon reflection be convinced that they will *spare no expense*, that they will run *any risk* in attempts to defeat this measure, which, if carried into full effect, will take from them *for ever* a greater possession than was ever before taken from human beings; nothing short of the absolute direct command of all the powers and all the resources of the most powerful and opulent country upon earth!

Power was never yet known to *put an end to itself*: but it is not power alone in this case: it is the resources of the country: it is the fruit of the skill and of the labour of the most industrious people in the world: it is sixty millions of taxes a year, solely under their control, and of which they take pretty nearly as much to themselves. How often have I had to point out to my readers, that all was possessed by them; that the church, the army, the navy, the colonies, the diplomatic body, and the department of the law, the academies; that, in short, the crown lands, every species of public property; the barracks and all belonging to them; that the pension and sinecure and allowance lists; that all, that every-thing was, in fact, a possession of theirs. ALEXANDER BARING, in a speech which he made the other night, upon the subject of the Reform Bill, and, in opposition to it, had the unblushing boldness to say, that those who filled public offices *became the poorer for it*; that they were underpaid; that there was no waste in this way. What, are the brace of SCOTTS the poorer for having filled public offices? Are the GRENVILLES the poorer for having been in public offices? Has VANSITTART become the poorer for his

services? Has CHARLES LONG shared this melancholy fate of poverty? Are the ROSES, whose father was a purser in the navy fifty years ago, the poorer for the three hundred thousand pounds which they have received out of the public money? Did HUSKISSON become poor by being in office? Did CANNING experience the same fate? Has HERRIES *got to be poor* in consequence of his services rendered to this niggardly public? Have the descendants of SAUNDERS MACGREGOR become poor in consequence of having been in office? Have the rival family of WELLESLEY become poor? Have those four peers, and the very Reverend Dean, *got to be the poorer* for being taken into public employ? In short, where can you look at one who has been in public employ, however low and poor in his origin, that has not become enormously rich? And would it be difficult to find out two hundred men, or two hundred families, at least, who, amongst them, have, within the last forty years, received a hundred millions of the public money? Have the DUNDASSES become poor? Have the EGREMONTs? In short, nothing can equal the falsehood of this assertion, but its insolence. Have the BARINGS themselves, belonging to that other branch of the system, become poor in consequence of the existence of this borough system?

Well, if this reform take place, there is at once an end to this miraculous mode of obtaining riches. Think of a set of men really chosen by the people, formed into committees to examine into the different branches of expenditure: imagine one set of them taking the pension list, for example, and coming to the names of the Duchess Dowager of NEWCASTLE, the Countess Dowager of MORNINGTON, Mrs. HERRIES and her daughters; and hundreds of others that might be mentioned; but, suppose a Committee of three coming to these names and sums, can you imagine for a moment the possibility of their not running their pen through them? Can you imagine it to be possible that they would think of looking their constituents in the face again without putting

an end to these pensions? Then suppose another Committee having the list of late *Foreign Ministers* before them. Knowing that we have about fifteen in employ, and that we have about seventy in pay, can you imagine it possible that they would suffer any to remain on the list; can you imagine that they would suffer their constituents to pay seventy ambassadors when fifteen were all that were wanted? They would see that our salaries to these foreign Ministers are five-fold greater than those which are paid to foreign Ministers by any other people; and do you think that men chosen by the people would think it right that a Minister should receive from six to ten thousand pounds a year while in service, and from two to four thousand pounds a year for the rest of his whole life?

Is it not manifest, that a reformed Parliament would, and must, proceed at once to the putting an end to all applications of this sort of the public money? Would such a Parliament not inquire how one million, six hundred thousand pounds, came to be given as a gift to the clergy of the Church of England? Would such a Parliament consent to the sending of such immense sums of English money to the colonies, which yield nothing in return? Would they not trace the said money into the hands of the dependents of great families? Would they not perceive clearly that the colonies are kept for the purpose of furnishing an excuse for thus disposing of English money? To be sure they would; and they would put an end to such an application of English money. In like manner, would they not perceive who were the real receivers of the money voted for the army and for the dead-weight; and would they not apply the pruning-knife there also? Why, it is notorious that we want the reform, not for the purpose, as our enemies have always alleged, of overturning the Government, by which no man of property could get any-thing, and no man without property could get any-thing in the end; is it not notorious that we want the Parliamentary

Reform in order to put an end to the disposal of the public money in the manner above-mentioned, and in other ways, far too numerous to be particularly stated here. This is notorious, and the boroughmongers, of course, have not been the last to perceive it. They know that such application of the public money could not take place under a reformed Parliament, and, therefore, they naturally oppose that reform.

In estimating the exertions which men are likely to make, we must keep their motives in view: a man will fight most desperately to preserve a bag of gold, who will hardly lift his hand if you are about to take a bag of half-pence from him. The boroughmongers have, as I have frequently observed, an estate in the taxes: they look upon this, not only as their estate, but as their best estate; and, it would be to be very weak indeed, to imagine that they will not make a most desperate struggle to preserve that estate. A reformed Parliament would, I dare say, act with moderation, with great forbearance, with great generosity even, in putting an end to pecuniary abuses of the sort that I have mentioned above; and, in acting thus, they might safely rely on the concurrence of the people; but, still, they must act, they must proceed; they must begin to lay the axe to the stem of the tree of corruption; and the cormorants lodged in its branches must know that its fall would be at no great distance of time. To preserve it, therefore, untouched, those cormorants will make every possible effort; and, one curious thing is (a thing well to be observed); that the further they proceed in resistance, the stronger the motive to resist; for, it must be evident to every-one, that the longer the resistance is protracted, the less disposed to forbearance, the less disposed to indulgence, the people will become. If the Reform Bill had been passed with little opposition in the Commons, and with the pretty general assent of the Lords, the people would have been very generally disposed to make as little alteration as possible; to

avail themselves but by very slow and indulgent degrees of the powers that that bill would have given them. Much of the past would have been buried in oblivion at once: past injuries and wrongs would have been overlooked in contemplating future benefits and rights; but, when resistance places the object to be achieved in danger; when apprehension is excited by such resistance; then, what indulgence, what forbearance, what patience, is to be expected from the people? Of this, too, those who make the resistance are very well aware. The resistance that they make to-day is, in consequence of their opinion of its effects, a motive for new and additional resistance to-morrow. They know that, if beaten now, their state will be much worse than it would have been if they had yielded at first; and, therefore, as the struggle advances, their resistance becomes more and more desperate; more and more violent; it has more and more of motive and of reason in support of it.

Therefore, let the people be well prepared for the efforts which are now to be made by the Boroughmongers, who would be downright idiots if they were to spare any sacrifice that afforded them the smallest chance of defeating the measure for which the people are contending. It is in vain to tell them, that their resistance, if persevered in, will lead to revolution and the subversion of all property. That is quite in vain; because, to them, this reform is just such revolution: it, at one blow, takes from them that property which they have in the taxes. It is in vain to talk to them in this strain; for, nothing that can possibly happen can be more injurious to them than this great act of justice done to the people. The people of Westminster, in a petition which was carried to the King by the two Members last Thursday morning, prayed his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament immediately, as the only means of preventing the most fatal consequences, amongst which they mentioned violent convulsions in Ireland and Scotland, and *a refusal to pay taxes in England!* In all human probability,

such would have been the effects if his Majesty had not, listening to his love for the peace and happiness of his people, acted agreeably to the prayer of that petition. If such would have been the case, if the King had refused to dissolve the Parliament, what is to be the consequence of a majority against the bill, a resolute majority, returned to the new Parliament?

The Boroughmongers, as well as everybody else, must know that such a majority, and so acting, will add greatly to the exasperation of the people. They have but to open their eyes, and look at Birmingham, look at Manchester, look at every body of men wherever assembled; they have but to look at this sight to be convinced that there is not the smallest chance of escaping the calamities depicted so strongly in the Westminster petition. A refusal to pay direct taxes, if once begun, would spread like a plague over the country. The fundholders would then begin to perceive that there was more cause for alarm to them in refusing reform than Sir RICHARD VIVYAN and Sir ROBERT PEEL seemed to think. The very proposition, in any one great town or in any county, would shake to its very centre the whole of that fabric which is called public credit. If once begun, if once acted upon in any one great town, or in any division of any county, where is the man to prescribe bounds to its extent? But would the refusal stop with the mere direct taxes? Who is to say that it would not instantly extend to tithes? Nay, would there need anything more than a beginning to make this the most fearful thing that a Minister of State can contemplate? The citizens of Westminster only repeated, in a sort of official manner, that which has been rumbling about amongst the great parishes in and about London ever since the Duke of WELLINGTON made his memorable speech in the month of November.

Now, however low my opinion may be of the understanding of VIVYAN and PEEL, and their like, it is impossible to believe that they can be wholly insensible to a danger such as this; yet am I

of opinion that resistance will still be made to the efforts of the King and his Ministers to give us, in a quiet manner, this satisfactory and efficient reform. In such a state of things as that in which we now are, men do not reason much; if they see danger, their anger or their interest hushes their fears. Their pride, too, comes to their support: and they push on, if not regardless of consequences, at least disposed to stand upon the chapter of accidents. Besides this, there is a rivalry for power and for what is called honour; these are seen in the deadly hatred and the bitter animosity against the successful rivals. The Treasury Bench is the heaven of a certain number of ambitious and talking men. Those are very much mistaken who imagine that the three hundred and one who voted against the second reading, all acted upon the conviction of their own minds, either for good or for evil. The whole body were influenced by a few, comparatively; and these few have passions in their bosoms of which the rest know nothing. Each of the leaders may probably risk very little: the whole body, taken together, risk a great deal; but as a commander will very often risk the destruction of his whole army, in order to avoid disgrace to himself; so will those leaders risk the whole of their followers from a similar motive.

Then observe, that when they come back again to Parliament, the whole body will be in a new position; and electors, as well as every-body else, should be cautious how they believe, that because a man's name is down in the red lists printed by Mr. RIDGWAY, and also by Mr. WAKLEY, *that man will be sure to vote for the Ministers!* In quite a new position will the members all be. Many of those who are upon that list may have voted for the bill; I do not say that they *did*; but they may have done it upon this ground; that, if the bill were lost, a dissolution would take place at once, and that, then, they would be put to the trouble and expense of a new election; and further, that, if the bill were carried, there must be a dissolu-

tion this year; and that they, if they did not vote for the bill, would have no chance of being elected for a reformed Parliament. I do not say that any man voted for the bill from these motives. I do not assert this of any one of them; but, every one must allow that here were motives quite sufficient to make a selfish man vote for the bill though he detested it in his heart. But, when these gentlemen of the red-list come back again, they will have incurred the trouble and expense of a new election; and they will *know* that, if the bill be thrown out, they may, if the people can be kept quiet, sit snugly for seven years; whereas, if the bill be passed, there must be another dissolution almost immediately, and they must take their chance of obtaining a seat in a reformed Parliament. The King cannot be called upon to dissolve the Parliament again in order that this bill may be carried! This should be borne in the mind of every man. He has now dissolved the Parliament expressly for the purpose of getting this bill carried; and, if it be not now carried, he cannot be called upon to resort to the same means again. This the borough people clearly understand; so that, if they be prepared to set the people at defiance, they have now a motive for voting against the bill much stronger than they had before. If, indeed, all those who are in the red list continue to vote for the bill, the bill is safe; the bill is carried, and the peace of the country is secured.

But we have seen some slippery gentlemen already, under the most paltry pretence, slide out of that list; and, unless the electors have some better security than that mere list presents them with, they have just no security at all. I am not supposing, that there are many men, nor even one other man, equally slippery with Sir BOBBY, the boast of the Borough; but there *was* Sir THOMAS ACLAND, who, indeed, said, when he voted for the second reading, that he did not entirely approve of the bill. There is Mr. ADEANE, Member for Cambridge-

shire, chosen as a reformer, observe, and who voted for the second reading of the bill, who has since declared that he does not approve of all its details. Therefore, very little reliance is to be placed on that list. In short, it is impossible to cast your eye over that list, where you find four BARINGS almost at the very outset; it is impossible to read the list over and to believe that all the members are in very heart and soul, in favour of this bill. Look once more at these three hundred and two excellent reformers; and then bless God for their miraculous conversion. Doubtless, there are some of them, I think I could name about ten, who really, from the bottom of their hearts, wished for the passing of the bill. But, my sincere belief, is, that four out of five, at the least, whose names are to be found on that list, would much rather that the bill had never been put upon paper. And if they calculate no further than the mere power of voting; if they do not see danger in the cruel disappointment of the people; if they totally overlook the awful prognostics of the Westminster petition to the King, the red list would, in my opinion, be reduced to a very small amount. If they were all men of sense; if they had sense to perceive that, to use a vulgar phrase, "the game is up," and that the borough system can no longer exist, I should say, take them from the red list, and send them back to Parliament; but this is far from being the case: when they get together, they give each other countenance and courage: they have no idea of any power greater than that which they possess: they have never seen a Parliament overpowered by the people, and they never expected to see it. This is the temper in which they will come back to the House; and, therefore, the red list is not worth a pin.

The far greater part of them have been accustomed, from their earliest days, to look upon the Parliament as being what it has been figuratively called, namely, omnipotent; and seeing security for their seat in a non-dissolution; seeing that that dissolution

cannot take place if the bill be rejected; seeing that it must take place if the bill be passed; seeing these things, who is to rely upon them without a firmer pledge than the mere circumstance of their names being in the red list?

As to the seat-owners themselves, no change can be expected in them, other than that which has been already discovered, and that has been in amount as moderate as their best friends could possibly have expected. And here let me observe upon the folly, nay, I am afraid I must call it the baseness, of those who have *thanked*, and that, too, in formal resolutions, humbly thanked, those of them who have expressed a readiness to *surrender their boroughs*, as it is oddly enough called. Thanked! for what? Either they had a *right* to hold the boroughs and make use of them as they did, and as they do, or they had not. Either they exercised a just and lawful power, or they exercised an unjust and unlawful power. If the first, it is unjust to take the power away from them; if the last, instead of thanks, they ought to think themselves happy if they escape reproaches. They surrender, as it is called, that which they can no longer keep; that which it is proposed to take from them by force of law; that which the King and his Ministers and the people say they have held unjustly. They see the warrant coming to take from them the thing they unjustly detain; they then generously give it up; and there are people who would treat with scorn and indignation a proposition to thank detected robbers for ceasing to rob, who, nevertheless, approach these generous souls with votes of grateful thanks. The *Morning Chronicle* of the 23d of April, in calling upon the people to exert themselves upon this occasion, says, "Thus the nation will be saved, and all will be rescued from the rapacious and degrading slavery of the *infernal boroughmongers*." What! then, *thank* men, call them patriotic, merely because they say they are willing to cease to enslave us, when they see that they can do it no longer! Thank men for ex-

pressing their willingness to cease to be infernal! And, besides, is my friend Dr. BLACK quite sure that, if the people were to slacken their efforts, and were to be beaten, these liberal and generous souls would not be *infernal* again? Did any one of them ever give up, or offer to give up, till Schedule A and Schedule B met his eye? Did any one of them ever bring the accursed parchments and fling them down upon the floor of the House and spit upon them? Did any one of them ever put in a Member to *move* for, or to *vote* for, a reform of the Parliament, except as a mere sham? Never! There is, therefore, no foundation of hope here. The owners of boroughs might have put an end to the turmoil long ago, if only a fifth part of them had expressed their readiness to give up their unjust power. Every-thing shows that what is proposed, if it should be carried finally, must come like drops of blood from the heart. Every-thing shows, in short, that the bill will not now be carried in that peaceable manner for which all good men wish, unless the people be extremely vigilant, and unless they exact something a great deal more positive and specific than the mere circumstance of the name being in the red list. If that circumstance be relied on, men will not only have an excuse, but a plausible excuse, for voting finally against the clauses of the bill; for the bill has really been altered since the second reading; and this is what Sir RICHARD VIVYAN says, in his address to his constituents of Cornwall. The excuse is a shuffle; for the alteration makes the bill better than it was before; but still it is not the same bill. Therefore a new and distinct pledge should be exacted.

There are in the bill two vital provisions; namely, the abolition of the rotten boroughs, and the extension of the suffrage. These two things do in fact contain that which may be called the principle of the bill. The divisions in the counties; the apportioning of the Members; the making of preparatory lists; the exclusion of out-voters; these, and various other things,

are matters which admit of alteration without any injury to the principle of the bill. The *duration of Parliaments* is a matter that may be introduced without at all altering the great principle of the bill; and I cannot help thinking that now that the work is to be begun anew, it would be wise to return to the triennial Parliaments, to which no man could reasonably object, and which, while it would get rid of the odious Septennial Act, would give great additional pleasure to the people. By this time, too, Lord GREY must have seen that the ballot is a thing not all on one side; for if there were brutal wretches to be found to follow the brutal advice given to the people of Bolton, Manchester, and Durlaston, to go and tear the arms nearly off the 10*l*. voters, unless they voted agreeably to the will of the most numerous part of the people; if there were Englishmen so brutal to be found, nothing in this case but the ballot would be a protection to the voters; and I beseech Lord GREY to be so good as to remember what I am now saying; that when Members are given to the great towns, and the voting confined to renters of ten pounds a year, whoever is at the head of the Government will find that the ballot will become absolutely necessary to insure the *peace of elections*, which is its great use, and which is the ground upon which it was adopted and has been adhered to in America. Let us take Bolton, for instance, and suppose the voters to be about four hundred out of twenty or thirty thousand souls. These voters will in general be shopkeepers. The mass of the people will, as is always the case, and always must be the case, have their favourite candidate; and they will have a vigilant eye upon the voters. There will of necessity arise great strife; there will be combinations of the working people not to deal with such a man and such a man on account of his vote. This is inevitable by any earthly means except that of the ballot.

However, the ballot is only a mode of taking an election. It involves no

principle of right ; and, like the other things of which I have just spoken, it may be introduced or not, and the bill still remain what it now is, a thing to give cordial satisfaction to the people. But the demolition of the rotten boroughs, and the extension of the suffrage ; these comprise the principle of the bill, and in support of these, the pledges exacted from every Member ought to be as clear, as distinct, and as positive, as words can make them. The *Morning Chronicle* has insisted, and I think with reason, that a candidate should be rejected for being absent at the second reading of the bill. It has very well observed, that absence from illness ought to be taken as proof of incapacity, therefore there should be some inquiries preceding the pledge. And the whole put together, would make a little catechism in the following words :

Did you vote for the second reading of the Reform Bill ?

Did you vote against General Gascoyne's motion ?

Will you vote for Schedule A and Schedule B of the Reform Bill, as amended by the Ministers before the Parliament was dissolved ?

Will you vote for the extension of the suffrage to renters of ten pounds a year as provided for by the bill lately tendered to parliament ?

Will you vote for the extension of the suffrage to copyholders, leaseholders, and renters, as provided for by the bill lately presented to Parliament ?

Will you vote for the giving of Members to counties or towns beyond the number specified in the said bill, if such be proposed by the Ministers ?

If the candidate can answer all these questions in the affirmative ; if he will do that, and will give the answer under his hand, or in the presence of some one who shall take down his words, then I would trust him ; then I would elect him, at any rate ; but if he boggle at any one of these questions ; if he shuffle ; if he talk about his honour, and God knows what besides, he will be-

tray you. Always believe that, if he belong to any of the great families, no matter which of them ; if he be a boroughmonger's tool, and no matter what boroughmonger, he has no *cordial* liking for this bill : a thousand to one but he hates it in the bottom of his heart. It will be against his grain to make the pledge ; but if you do not get the pledge, you may be sure, quite sure, that he will do his best to defeat the bill.

In this present case, there is to be expected no very great departure from ancient habits. The same men will come back again under one form or another, except those that will be actually turned out for ever. There will be scarcely a single new man. In Hampshire, for instance, they intend, it appears, to turn out the two present county Members, and to take, in their place, two *from a couple of rotten boroughs!* Those boroughs will be filled up by the boroughmongers who own them ; but in such way, perhaps, as to ensure two additional votes for the bill. This is very proper : no matter who are the men to shove out LITTLE FLEMING and HEATHCOTE : if it were a couple of shoyhoys, taken out of a pea-field, instead of Sir JAMES M'DONALD and SHAW LEFEVRE, it would be just as well, provided the shoyhoys could say *aye* and *no*. Nay, in this case, *aye* alone would be quite sufficient. Now, can any man sincerely believe that these two men do not curse the Reform Bill in their hearts ? Can any man, in his senses, believe this ? What, sit for rotten boroughs all their political lives, and then, all at once, *abhor* rotten boroughs ! Nay, *abhor* them, and continue to sit for them ! Rail against them, and continue to sit for them ! Call those "*infernal* boroughmongers" who deal in them, and be the nominees of those "*infernal* people !" These two nominees do not call them *infernal*, to be sure ; but they speak of the traffic as *infamous* ; and, indeed, this way of thinking in them is clearly implied by their votes in this case.

Such men are not to be trusted, unless bound by the strongest pledges :

Hardly will it be safe then ; but, without the pledge, without the *certainty* of infamy in case of voting against the bill, they are not to be trusted a yard. If, at last, it come to a *refusal to pay taxes*, the rejection of the Bill will be of *no use* ; and, it will not be amiss to remind candidates of this ! To remind them of this will be full as efficacious as the pledge, if not more. And, as to the boroughmongers themselves, the strongest argument with them would be this ; that, if this bill be carried quietly, it will rub off all *old scores* ; it will prevent the people from *trying back* ; it will prevent them from computing *how much each borough has added to the Debt* ; it will, in short, like the old landlord's mop, rub out all the chalks at once. But, if the bill be rejected ; if things come to this extremity, there must be, and there will be, a ripping-up of the past. The reform will take place somehow or other, in spite of every-thing that can be done to prevent it : a river can be driven backwards just as easily as reform can now be stopped : the longer it is delayed, the greater will be the change ; and those who fear that this reform will bring revolution, have reason, indeed, to dread a revolution if they suffer the dispute to come to the non-payment of taxes, which has been the great signal for the overthrow of governments in all the countries where governments have been overthrown. A *retrospect* would be a frightful thing ; a thing which I never wish to see take place ; but a thing which I very much fear I shall see take place, judging, as I do, from the apparent disposition of the boroughmongers.

Besides these pledges to be taken from candidates, there is another sort of persons from whom pledges might be taken. There are twenty open boroughs or more, like Dover, Norwich, Coventry, &c., the elections of which are generally, if not always, decided by the *London voters*. These are very numerous, in proportion to the resident voters. They form, perhaps, one out of three, and sometimes one half, in point of numbers. They have always

been articles of simple purchase and sale. The cost of them is immense. To take down a thousand voters to Norwich would probably cost not less than *fifteen thousand pounds*. Therefore, he who has the most money to expend, carries the election. In the greater part of these open boroughs, the resident voters would be for the reform candidate ; and if the London voters could but be prevailed upon, for this once, to stay in London and abstain from the exercise of their honourable functions as voters, this circumstance alone might decide the fate of this bill. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who have any influence with persons of this description, to endeavour to cause them to act an honest part in this case ; to represent to them the good and the mischief that it is now in their power to do, and, if possible, to deter them from doing the mischief. The reform candidates are not likely to be able to expend the money necessary in general to the carrying down of these voters ; the Government cannot employ the public money for this purpose ; the boroughmongers are raising a great fund to effect this object. Thousands of vile electioneering attornies are now in the field of corruption to collect these stray souls together, and send them down to their everlasting perdition ; for the next twenty days, England will be a perfect hell upon earth ; much, perhaps, cannot be done with these London voters, to restrain them from taking the horrid bribes ; but something may be done, and by whomsoever that something can be done, it ought not to be neglected.

I perceive that the newspapers in favour of reform are calling upon people to *subscribe*, in order to form a fund to be employed for counteracting the effect of the fund of the boroughmongers. It is pleasant enough for me to see projects of this sort put forth by the *Times* and the *Courier*, both of which urged the Government to pass the horrible dungeon and gagging bills in 1817, in order to stifle the voice of reform. A strange change, to be sure : a very strange change ; and who is to

assure us that, before another year has passed over our heads, a change from the present will not be as great as that which I have just been describing? Talk of eventful times, indeed! This is the eventful time. On the 3rd of February last; nay, on the 28th of February, only about *fifty days* ago, there was not a man in the kingdom who expected to see that which we now behold. The next fifty days may produce something still more wonderful; and I refrain from saying what I think it possible that the third fifty days may produce. Amidst the incessantly repeated calls for reform; amidst the turmoil of faction; amidst these struggles with regard to this single object, men totally overlook the general pecuniary situation of the country. Men forget the state of their own affairs, and cherish a sort of indistinct hope that those affairs may mend somehow or another, when this great question shall be settled. In the meanwhile, however, the affairs of every man in trade, in agriculture, in manufactures, in commerce, are, with few exceptions, going on from bad to worse; and a settled conviction exists in every man's mind that there must be some great and general change; that, somehow or another, the burdens which men have to bear must be greatly lightened; and, upon every man's lips, you find the expression that "*we want a cheap government.*"

In the meanwhile, all manner of doubts exist as to the power of the Bank to continue to pay in gold. Another panic is apprehended by some persons: rumours of all sorts fill the city from day to day; and if, during the agitation of this great question of Reform, another panic were to take place, what pen, what tongue, is to describe the consequences? Those who oppose Reform ought not only to bear this in mind; but they ought also to bear in mind that the reformers have had no hand in producing this danger, at any rate. There is a slow, a gradual, but a regular and incessant, decline in the circumstances of all that part of the community who receive nothing out of the taxes. The foundation of

this decline was laid by PEELE'S Bill, which, except during a short period, when it was in fact suspended, has been regularly at work upon the industrious classes, from 1819 to the present day. The receipts of men in business keep gradually falling off; they become poorer and poorer, without being able to tell why. Their books show them the state in which they are; but the cause not one out of ten thousand can perceive. In the neighbourhood of London, thousands upon thousands of houses stand uninhabited; some of the window-places nailed up with boards; others are actually tumbling down; and, in some cases, the bricks have been removed from the spot, and the grass invited to return. The country towns and villages are, nevertheless, perishing by degrees, at the same time: the nation is a florid body, that seems to be shrinking and sinking away without any visible disorder.

Such, paper money, are thy wonderful effects! All has been false: the debtor and creditor alike have been dealing with false money. This money has been, and is, gradually sinking away into its native nothingness, leaving not the means of causing exertion to be made in the usual manner; causing a want of employment and a want of every-thing tending to the comfort of the classes who labour. This state of things can never be got rid of but by some great change in the pecuniary affairs of the country. It is useless to try to shift off this subject from investigation: it must be investigated; and a remedy must be applied, too; or, terrible convulsion will be the end. If I were the Minister, I would be prepared with my proposition against the first reformed Parliament should meet. I have always thought it useless to propose any such subject to an unreformed Parliament. I wished to see the Parliament reformed that this subject might be discussed with the fair hope of a remedy. Nothing can be so terrible as that the difficulties of this part of the system should come tumbling upon us with all their weight, just at the time when we are in a sort of half-

fight upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform. The enemies of reform have always been bawling about the danger to property which would arise from an abolition of the boroughs and a restoration of free elections. This does appear to me to be the most strange thing in this whole world. There never was a nation upon the whole earth who set about a destruction of property. No, nor about a general transfer of property either. Who lost his property in France, unless he quitted the country and became its enemy? Who lost his property in America except from similar causes? What, then, are these men to apprehend that a change of the mode of electing Members of Parliament would produce a general confiscation, or transfer of property? Why, conquerors themselves never play tricks so ruinous as this. From the very nature of things, a general destruction or transfer of property can never take place.

But, the surprising thing of all is, that those who apprehend this destruction of property, as they call it, from a change in the representation of the people in Parliament; those who apprehend such effects from a change of this sort quietly effected, seem to have no apprehensions at all, not only of this sort, but of any other, from a *refusal* to make such change in the representation. They seem to have no apprehension at all from disappointment of the sanguine hopes of from fifteen to twenty millions of people, assembled together upon a no very large piece of ground. Let such thoughtless men read the two following little paragraphs from two towns, containing, at least, two hundred and fifty thousand people:

Manchester Advertiser Office, Saturday, eleven at noon.—Never was enthusiasm like that which animates the people of Manchester at this moment. They are going up and down shaking hands and congratulating each other as if the general enemy of mankind were slain. The gentlemen on the Exchange received the news, which was contained in an express edition of the *Courier*, with a thunder of cheers and waving of hats. All hands are off to their posts to beat up for the new elections.

Bolton Chronicle Office, Saturday evening, five o'clock.—In consequence of the kindness

of a gentleman from the London *Courier* office, who arrived here to-day by express, we are enabled to give our readers a second edition, containing the glorious news, that rather than his Majesty would allow his *beloved and patriotic Ministers to be conquered by a base and corrupt oligarchy*, he would dissolve the Parliament. This one step has preserved the country from a bloody revolution; for which the nation was fully prepared, and we thank God we were spared the horrors which would have ensued from any want of firmness on the part of the King and the Ministers.

These are words put down upon the paper in haste; but the authenticity of the facts they express can be doubted by no one; and, in these little paragraphs, we clearly read what must be the result, if the people be finally disappointed. Now then, suppose they were to resort coolly to the remedy pointed out by the Westminster Petition to the King; supposing a refusal to pay taxes were begun; what would then be the situation of *property*, as far as property depended upon the powers of the Government? Every one knows how swiftly a contagion of that sort sows itself. Every one knows how soon a refusal to pay taxes finds imitators; every one has seen, in short, that in every country where such a thing has taken place, no then-constituted authority has been of long duration. Strange, indeed, that those who apprehend a destruction of property from a quiet reform of the Parliament, should be so blind as to be unable to see any danger whatever as likely to arise from an obstinate refusal of that Reform.

There has always been, ever since I can recollect any discussion upon such matters, a notion prevailing amongst the aristocracy, and amongst the rich generally, that the poorer classes are constantly wishing to get their property from them. Where do they find anything in justification of this notion in the history of any nation upon the face of the earth? It was, only about a year and a half ago, a common observation with the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, that if the common people, that is to say, the middle and working class, had the choosing of one of the two houses of Parliament, uninfluenced by

the aristocracy and the rich, *there would be no safety for property*; that having the power, the lower orders of society would have the will, to strip the higher orders of their property. Never was so monstrous an idea. This writer forgot that almost every man has some property, more or less, and that, little as some men's may be, it is their all. He forgot, too, that all principles of natural right were not as yet effaced from the human mind. He forgot, further, that if he looked across the Atlantic, he saw a nation where the millions choose the law-makers, from the top to the bottom. A nation that has swelled up from three millions to twelve in the course of forty years; a nation containing the finest and richest commercial cities in the world, England only excepted; a nation abounding in opulent merchants and land-owners, having, in many instances, houses like palaces, a nation in which there never was passed, or even proposed, a law to enrich the lower and middle class at the expense of the higher. In short, look back even to the terrible times of the French Revolution, with all their cries of equality, and eulogia on *sans-culotterie*, and find, if you can, a single law or regulation, or any settled design, to take property from the rich and give it to the poor. This is a monstrous dream: it looks like the terrors of guilt, and has nothing about it philosophical, or at all consonant with common sense or experience.

I do not positively say, however, that the apprehension has never been *entertained*. It may have been, and it may still be; but, of this I am sure, that the best security for the property of the great and the rich is their acting justly and mercifully towards the industrious classes; for, all history tells us that, whenever the great and the rich have been pulled down; whenever they have been compelled to surrender their property to the general purposes of the people in any shape whatever, it has always been in consequence of long-endured injustice on the part of the people. In such cases, they burst out, they avenge themselves; but they immediately return to the habits of their lives, never having,

for one single moment, entertained the idea of becoming rich people themselves by the despoiling of others.

Have the people of England, Scotland and Ireland any idea of this sort at this moment? There may, perhaps, be half-a-dozen men of this description, a fact, however which I question; but, as to the working people, the body which is affected to be dreaded, such a thought never entered into the mind of a single man of them. They would laugh at the man who should moot the idea to them: they have not the most distant thought of ever being in a state other than that in which they now are: they are, from the very habits of their lives, from the very frame of their minds, incapable of entertaining such monstrous notions. Yet, upon no better foundation than a belief that such are the views of the common people, were the savage bills of 1817 enacted, and has Parliamentary Reform been resisted for the last forty years.

If the aristocracy could divest themselves of this stupid, this unnatural notion, they would see at once how much better it would be to conciliate the people than to drive them into a train of vindictive feelings and acts. Whether they will thus divest themselves at last, is more than I can say; but, leaving them, as indeed we must, to pursue their own course, it is our duty to endeavour, by all the means in our power, to return such men to the next Parliament as shall decide for the bill without hesitation, and thus, at last, bring this matter to a close without injustice to any-body, without violence of any sort, and without leaving in the bosoms of the people a desire to make use of their power for purposes of revenge.

Before I conclude, let me offer my opinion, that no pledges on the one hand demanded, nor on the other hand tendered, relative to any other matter than that of reform, ought, in this case, to be of any avail. This Parliament is to be called, according to the words of the King's speech, for the purpose, and for the sole purpose, of making a reform of the Parliament, which Parliament, when so reformed,

is to be the instrument wherewith to effect the other things necessary to the happiness, safety, and greatness of the country. All other matters, therefore, ought to remain in abeyance until the reform be effected. The present Ministers have experienced that they can do nothing in the way of retrenchment, or in any other way for the good of the country, with a Parliament constituted as the last was. When we come to the choosing of a reformed Parliament, then will be the time to talk about measures for the restoration of the country. Then there will be pledges enough to call for from the candidates; for the people will not then be contented with promises made in words of course, and in terms so general as for no man to know what they mean. There are certain things, and very important things, that must be done to restore the country to real prosperity; and as the people will know their wants, and as the members will really speak their voice, the things necessary to be done will be done, as far as it shall lie in the power of the Parliament to do them. All that we have to do at present is, to choose men who shall make the reform; and, that accomplished, there can be no doubt that the rest will follow in due course of time. It remains, then, for us all, in our several stations in life, to do every-thing in our power to give effect to the King's most gracious exertion to obtain for us a Parliament that shall speak the voice of the people as far as relates to this reform.

There is one thing that appears to hang as a doubt upon the minds of some; and that is, if the new House of Commons pass the bill, the Lords may reject it, and thus throw all up to the wind again, leaving, at the same time, no ground whatsoever for another dissolution of the House of Commons. My opinion is, that the Lords will not do this; because this would be to bring them at once breast to breast with the King, with the people at his back. No, I trust that they will stop far short of this. They must, when they have had time to cool, be satisfied that the scene of the 22d of April will be but too long re-

membered; and that the only way to cause it to be forgotten by the nation is for their Lordships to offer no further resistance, at least, of a nature so offensive to the millions, amongst whom they may, if they please, still be, to the end of their lives, the greatest men, their sovereign only excepted, that the world knows any-thing of. That such may be the end of this struggle, has always been my most anxious wish; and if it be not, no part of the fault will ever be justly ascribed to

WM. COBBETT.

PRAY READ!!!

I HERE present *my readers* with a collection of paragraphs from the London daily newspapers. They, and particularly those of them who have been *persecuted for reading the Register*, will here find their full revenge. And what must *I feel* at this moment! I, who have been called *jacobin*, and all sorts of things looked upon as meaning rebel and villain; and this, too, only because I, in spite of all that could be done against me, maintained the cause of *parliamentary reform*! What must *I feel*, when I hear crying aloud against the boroughmongers the very men who thanked the Sidmouths and Scott Eldons for the horrible bills of 1817! With what delight I turn back to the Registers written in *Long Island*, and especially to one of them, in which *I told the fortunes of the boroughmongers*! I have, at the end of twenty years of reproaches for "*coarseness*," lived to see the "*polite*" and "*refined*" daily papers call them the "*INFAMOUS boroughmongers*," the "*RAPACIOUS boroughmongers*," the "*INFERNAL boroughmongers*." I shall begin my collection with the PROCLAMATION for dissolving the Parliament.

BY THE KING.—A PROCLAMATION FOR DISSOLVING THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT, AND DECLARING THE CALLING OF ANOTHER.

WILLIAM R.—Whereas we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to dissolve this present Parliament, which stands prorogued to Tuesday, the 10th of May.

next; we do for that end publish this our Royal Proclamation, and do hereby dissolve the said Parliament accordingly; and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs, of the House of Commons are discharged from their meeting and attendance on the said Tuesday, the 10th day of May next; and we, being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in Parliament, do hereby make known to all our loving subjects, our Royal will and pleasure to call a new Parliament; and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our Privy Council, we have given order to our Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom called Great Britain, and our Chancellor of Ireland, that they do respectively, upon notice thereof, forthwith issue out writs in due form, and according to law, for calling a new Parliament; and we do hereby also, by this our Royal Proclamation, under our Great Seal of our United Kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by our said Chancellors respectively, for causing the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, who are to serve in the said Parliament, to be duly returned to, and give their attendance in, our said Parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of June next.

Given at our Court at St. James's, this twenty-third day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, and in the first year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

**BY THE KING.—A PROCLAMATION,
IN ORDER TO THE ELECTING AND
SUMMONING THE SIXTEEN PEERS
OF SCOTLAND.**

WILLIAM R.—Whereas we have in our Council thought fit to declare our pleasure, for summoning and holding a Parliament of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of June next ensuing the date hereof; in order, therefore, to the electing and summoning the Sixteen Peers of Scotland, who are to sit in the House of Peers in the said Parliament; we do, by the advice of our Privy Council, issue forth this our Royal Proclamation, strictly charging and commanding all the Peers of Scotland to assemble and meet at Holyrood House, in Edinburgh, on Friday, the 3rd day of June next ensuing, between the hours of twelve and two in the afternoon, to nominate and choose the sixteen Peers, to sit and vote in the House of Peers in the said ensuing Parliament, by open election and plurality of voices of the Peers that shall be then present, and of the proxies of such as shall be absent (such proxies being Peers, and producing a mandate in writing, duly signed before witnesses, and both the constituent and proxy being qualified according to law), and the Lord Clerk Register, or such two of the Principal Clerks of the Session as shall be appointed by him to officiate in his

name, are hereby respectively required to attend such meeting, and administer the oaths required by law to be taken there by the said Peers, and to take their votes; and immediately after such election made and duly examined, to certify the names of the Sixteen Peers so elected, and to sign and attest the same in the presence of the said Peers the electors, and return such certificate into our High Court of Chancery of Great Britain. And we do, by this our Royal Proclamation, strictly command and require the Provost of Edinburgh, and all other the Magistrates of the said city, to take especial care to preserve the peace thereof, during the time of the said election, and to prevent all manner of riots, tumults, disorders, and violence whatsoever. And we strictly command this our Royal Proclamation be duly published at the Market-cross at Edinburgh, and in all the county towns of Scotland, twenty-five days, at least, before the time hereby appointed for the meeting of the said Peers to proceed to such election.

Witness ourself at Westminster, this twenty-third day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, and in the first year of our reign.

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From the Morning Chronicle, April 23.

Again we invoke the electors of the United Kingdom, and UNITED it is in one resolution to depose and exterminate the borough-mongers, to devote their bodies and minds to the accomplishment of our political regeneration. Every man must act as though the national salvation depended on his individual exertions. We must not over-rate the power of the people, or under-rate the influence and vicious spirit of the boroughmongers. True it is, that the corruptionists regard the proclamation of Dissolution as the grave-stone of their power; they see in it the close of their existence; it is the bottomless pit of their perdition. The awful and sullen silence in which they received the announcement of their majority on Wednesday morning, as twilight receded before the rising of the sun, demonstrated their fears of success. Defeat was ruin; victory might be equally destructive. Stretched on the rack of this excruciating instrument of torture, the reform bills, the boroughmongers knew not which way to save their lives. The passing the ministerial measure was certain death to the political hucksterers; the rejection of it might afford a ray of hope, if not a gleam of ultimate safety. As the desperate gambler casts the last die, so the adversaries of the people were forced to run all hazards. The cask of REGULUS was comfort compared with the agonies of their situation. To the last moment, deceived by base-minded courtiers, and bewiled by political women, they trusted to the wily plots laid to seduce the King from his courage and integrity. Even when the momentary discharge of guns, in successive peels of thunder, announced the advent of his Ma-

JUSTY to save the nation, the wretched dupes still doubted the horrible reality. THE GAZETTE alone this day can satisfy numbers of their political bankruptcy. Many regarded the prorogation as a RUSE. A few short months have intervened since the Duke of Wellington vaunted the perfectibility of the representation. A few days only since Sir R. Peel flattered himself that he could produce a pocket reform to smooth the public mind. Miserable was the idea, despicable the false spirit in which he has cunningly opposed the cause of the people. His maledictions against Journalism and democracy remind us of the maniac raving against his keepers. The sun of his political power has set never to rise more; he can no longer make himself the drag-chain of the State machine. A new patent has superseded his superannuated instruments of Government. Europe has burst the chains of despotism with which the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and their predecessors, had *manacled her spirit*. The boroughmongers are irretrievably undone. Sir Robert Peel became frantic with the vision of futurity. In *The School for Scandal*, Joseph Surface exclaims to Mrs. Candour, "I am afraid his circumstances are *very bad*, Ma'am." Mrs. Candour replies, "Ah! I heard so, but you must tell him to *keep up his spirits*; every-body almost is in the same way, Lord Spindle, Sir Thomas Splint, Captain Quinze, and Mr. Nickitt, all up, I hear, within this week; so if *Sir Charles* is undone, he'll find half his acquaintance ruined too, and that, you know, is some consolation!" Sir Robert Inglis, in the spirit of a martyr, chanted a funeral dirge over the grave of the boroughmongers. JOSEPH SURFACE would fain believe in the possibility of a redemption of his dying cause. Sir Robert Peel invokes the country. We invoke the electors to mark with scorn the desperate infatuation and pretences of these men of desperate fortunes. The King, the Ministry, the people, must prevail against rotten corporations, borough patrons, and venal intimidated voters. The flower of the aristocracy is with us, though the bran is exceedingly coarse. Every man, therefore, must hasten to the sacrifice of time, interest, and labour. We repeat, that *Virtue* must be the Polar Star of the approaching contest. Threats must be despised, bribes scorned, devotion to the cause must universally prevail. Above all, it must ever be remembered in the election struggles, that to the honest representatives, supporters of Reform in the expired Parliament, we owe the opportunity of National Emancipation. They must be protected, supported, shielded from the pillage of elections. The first duty of the electors is, the spontaneous and hearty return of the *old representatives free of expense*. The private fortunes of men must be respected, or the public will be deprived of their most trusty and valuable servants. This is especially just and necessary in those instances, and they are numerous, where the old repre-

sentatives, voting different ways, necessitates the introduction of a third man, to depose the evil-doer. The honest candidate must be held harmless of cost. In Leicester, Mr. Evans must not be visited with the punishment of Sir Charles Hastings. Lord Althorp, in the county of Northampton, must be honourably and cheaply returned. In Warwick, Mr. Tomes must not share the penalties about to be inflicted on Sir Charles Greville. In Warwickshire, Mr. Lawley must be protected from expenditure, when Mr. Dugdale is ousted by a third candidate. Mr. Tennyson, in Stamford or Lincolnshire, should be honourably and gratuitously returned. Mr. John Wood, in Preston, should not be fined for the *perverse or wilful offences of Mr. Hunt*. These are only a few instances of the cruel mulct which will otherwise be levied on the old and most useful friends of the people. As a general rule, all those Members who consistently supported Ministers in the Reform Bills should be returned; but a strict *Catechism* should be read, and an equally strict record of the answers should be preserved. All *absentees* on either division should be rejected; a good medical certificate is the best proof of incompetency to discharge the duties of a representative; absence of mind is an equal incapacity with physical inability. We again urge *union*; let that man be selected for nomination who unites in his interest the largest body of reformers. We urge the whole Provincial Press to cultivate disinterestedness and *immediate energy*. *Thus the nation will be saved, and all will be rescued from the rapacious and degrading slavery of the infernal boroughmongers.*

(From the Morning Chronicle, April 25.)

We cannot too earnestly inculcate the necessity of making the greatest exertion to return every-where reformers in the true sense of the word. The boroughmongers are stirring heaven and earth to compass their base ends, and money will be lavished on the worthless Englishmen who, for a mess of pottage, will sell the rights of themselves and their children. The majority and minority on General Gascoyne's motion, on the 19th, printed by Mr. Ridgway, in the form of a sheet, should be distributed throughout every corner of the three kingdoms, in order to be posted up in all places of resort, that the enemies of the people may be thoroughly known. Whoever voted for that motion ought to be excluded from every place where the people have any influence.

Another point is of great importance. Let there be no divisions among the reformers themselves. We account every man, no matter what his professions and pledges, who offers himself as a candidate *in place of any of the men* who have declared themselves for the whole bill, and who have voted for the second reading and against General Gascoyne's motion, an *enemy of the people*. By reason of the division thus created the enemy may come in. We are sorry, therefore, to see a reform

next; we do for that end publish this our Royal Proclamation, and do hereby dissolve the said Parliament accordingly; and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs, of the House of Commons are discharged from their meeting and attendance on the said Tuesday, the 10th day of May next; and we, being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in Parliament, do hereby make known to all our loving subjects, our Royal will and pleasure to call a new Parliament; and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our Privy Council, we have given order to our Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom called Great Britain, and our Chancellor of Ireland, that they do respectively, upon notice thereof, forthwith issue out writs in due form, and according to law, for calling a new Parliament; and we do hereby also, by this our Royal Proclamation, under our Great Seal of our United Kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by our said Chancellors respectively, for causing the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, who are to serve in the said Parliament, to be duly returned to, and give their attendance in, our said Parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of June next.

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From the Morning Chronicle, April 23.

Again we invoke the electors of the United Kingdom, and UNITED it is in one resolution to depose and exterminate the borough-mongers, to devote their bodies and minds to the accomplishment of our political regeneration. Every man must act as though the national salvation depended on his individual exertions. We must not over-rate the power of the people, or under-rate the influence and vicious spirit of the boroughmongers. True it is, that the corruptionists regard the proclamation of Dissolution as the grave-stone of their power; they see in it the close of their existence; it is the bottomless pit of their perdition. The awful and sullen silence in which they received the announcement of their majority on Wednesday morning, as twilight receded before the rising of the sun, demonstrated their fears of success. Defeat was ruin; victory might be equally destructive. Stretched on the rack of this excruciating instrument of torture, the reform bills, the boroughmongers knew not which way to save their lives. The passing the ministerial measure was certain death to the political hucksterers; the rejection of it might afford a ray of hope, if not a gleam of ultimate safety. As the desperate gambler casts the last die, so the adversaries of the people were forced to run all hazards. The cask of REGULUS was comfort compared with the agonies of their situation. To the last moment, deceived by base-minded courtiers, and bewiled by political women, they trusted to the wily plots laid to seduce the King from his courage and integrity. Even when the momentary discharge of guns, in successive peels of thunder, announced the advent of his Ma-

TESTY to save the nation, the wretched dupes still doubted the horrible reality. THE GAZETTE alone this day can satisfy numbers of their political bankruptcy. Many regarded the prorogation as a RUSE. A few short months have intervened since the Duke of Wellington vaunted the perfectibility of the representation. A few days only since Sir R. Peel flattered himself that he could produce a pocket reform to smooth the public mind. Miserable was the idea, despicable the false spirit in which he has cunningly opposed the cause of the people. His maledictions against *Journalism* and democracy remind us of the maniac raving against his keepers. The sun of his political power has set never to rise more; he can no longer make himself the drag-chain of the State machine. A new patent has superseded his superannuated instruments of Government. Europe has burst the chains of despotism with which the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and their predecessors, had *manacled her spirit*. The boroughmongers are irretrievably undone. Sir Robert Peel became frantic with the vision of futurity. In *The School for Scandal*, Joseph Surface exclaims to Mrs. Candour, "I am afraid his circumstances are very bad, Ma'am." Mrs. Candour replies, "Ah! I heard so, but you must tell him to keep up his spirits; every-body almost is in the same way, Lord Spindle, Sir Thomas Splint, Captain Quinze, and Mr. Nickitt, all up, I hear, within this week; so if Sir Charles is undone, he'll find half his acquaintance ruined too, and that, you know, is some consolation!" Sir Robert Inglis, in the spirit of a martyr, chanted a funeral dirge over the grave of the boroughmongers. JOSEPH SURFACE would fain believe in the possibility of a redemption of his dying cause. Sir Robert Peel invokes the country. We invoke the electors to mark with scorn the desperate infatuation and pretences of these men of desperate fortunes. The King, the Ministry, the people, must prevail against rotten corporations, borough patrons, and venal intimidated voters. The flower of the aristocracy is with us, though the bran is exceedingly coarse. Every man, therefore, must hasten to the sacrifice of time, interest, and labour. We repeat, that *Virtue* must be the Polar Star of the approaching contest. Threats must be despised, bribes scorned, devotion to the cause must universally prevail. Above all, it must ever be remembered in the election struggles, that to the honest representatives, supporters of Reform in the expired Parliament, we owe the opportunity of National Emancipation. They must be protected, supported, shielded from the pillage of elections. The first duty of the electors is, the spontaneous and hearty return of the *old representatives free of expense*. The private fortunes of men must be respected, or the public will be deprived of their most trusty and valuable servants. This is especially just and necessary in those instances, and they are numerous, where the old repre-

sentatives, voting different ways, necessitates the introduction of a third man, to depose the evil-doer. The honest candidate must be held harmless of cost. In Leicester, Mr. Evans must not be visited with the punishment of Sir Charles Hastings. Lord Althorp, in the county of Northampton, must be honourably and cheaply returned. In Warwick, Mr. Tomes must not share the penalties about to be inflicted on Sir Charles Greville. In Warwickshire, Mr. Lawley must be protected from expenditure, when Mr. Dugdale is ousted by a third candidate. Mr. Tennyson, in Stamford or Lincolnshire, should be honourably and gratuitously returned. Mr. John Wood, in Preston, should not be fined for the *perverse or wilful offences of Mr. Hunt*. These are only a few instances of the cruel mulct which will otherwise be levied on the old and most useful friends of the people. As a general rule, all those Members who consistently supported Ministers in the Reform Bills should be returned; but a strict *Catechism* should be read, and an equally strict record of the answers should be preserved. All *absentees* on either division should be rejected; a good medical certificate is the best proof of incompetency to discharge the duties of a representative; absence of mind is an equal incapacity with physical inability. We again urge *union*; let that man be selected for nomination who unites in his interest the largest body of reformers. We urge the whole Provincial Press to cultivate disinterestedness and immediate energy. *Thus the nation will be saved, and all will be rescued from the rapacious and degrading slavery of the infernal boroughmongers.*

(From the Morning Chronicle, April 25.)

We cannot too earnestly inculcate the necessity of making the greatest exertion to return every-where reformers in the true sense of the word. The boroughmongers are stirring heaven and earth to compass their base ends, and money will be lavished on the worthless Englishmen who, for a mess of pottage, will sell the rights of themselves and their children. The majority and minority on General Gascoyne's motion, on the 19th, printed by Mr. Ridgway, in the form of a sheet, should be distributed throughout every corner of the three kingdoms, in order to be posted up in all places of resort, that the enemies of the people may be thoroughly known. Whoever voted for that motion ought to be excluded from every place where the people have any influence.

Another point is of great importance. Let there be no divisions among the reformers themselves. We account every man, no matter what his professions and pledges, who offers himself as a candidate *in place of any of the men who have declared themselves for the whole bill, and who have voted for the second reading and against General Gascoyne's motion, an enemy of the people*. By reason of the division thus created the enemy may come in. We are sorry, therefore, to see a reform

candidate start for Westminster. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse ought to have no rivals among reformers. The reformers have quite enough on their hands without opposing each other.

It must not be forgotten, that in the election about to take place many of the motives which stimulate candidates to make exertions to secure their return are weakened, while, on the other hand, the boroughmongers are fighting for their all. Vanity comes in powerfully to the aid of public spirit on ordinary occasions; but the Parliament about to be chosen meets for a specific purpose, and then ceases to exist. There are many individuals who would stand the expenses of a contest for a seat in a Parliament expected to be of the ordinary duration, who on this occasion would rather give way to others. The people should bear all these things in mind. It is peculiarly their cause which is now agitated. The enemy are united—their movements will be skilfully directed. Nothing but the union of the people, and an enthusiastic determination to make every sacrifice for this one occasion, will carry us successfully through. If the people be not true to themselves now, the consequences will be unspeakably calamitous.

Every man who votes for an anti-reformer votes for despotism—votes against the liberty of the press—against education—against all that has made England what she is, in spite of the abuses from which she has suffered.—Sir Robert Peel, the head of the anti-reformers, has not hesitated to declare himself an admirer of the system of Charles X., and an enemy to the liberty of the press, which he chooses to term Journalism. He talked on Friday of “the despotism of journalism—that despotism which had brought neighbouring countries, once happy and flourishing, to the very brink of ruin and despair.” Joseph Surface has at length spoken out. This was the overflowing of a full heart. Happy France, if Charles had succeeded in destroying the charter, and annihilating journalism! So, if this man and his party succeed, we may see what happiness is in store for us. We shall have, no doubt, gagging bills in abundance, a reaction against every thing liberal, fresh crusades against the press by Sir James Scarlett, fleshed by a spirit of vengeance on account of his late mortifications.

We understand that several of the leading boroughmongers have had a meeting, to agree on supplies for the contest, and that a stock purse of a hundred thousand pounds was subscribed for without delay. Some of them subscribed as high as twenty thousand pounds. To counteract these great exertions subscriptions must be liberally entered into at Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, and all the other great towns about to receive the franchise. We repeat, the greatest exertions are required. The boroughmongers have every motive for opening their purses liberally on this occasion. On the one hand, their power to plunder will be annihilated by

reform; on the other, victory would soon enable them to repay their outlay out of the pockets of the people. The poor wretches, who for gold should sell themselves to this crew, would soon feel the consequences in increased burdens. The victory of the boroughmongers would be reaction, and the liberal squandering of the public money, in order to protect themselves by the dispensation of patronage.

We state matters fairly and without disguise, because we would not have the people to allow any advantage to be obtained over them, through ignorance of the extent of the danger. There is no cause for despair, if the people be only true to themselves, because an united and determined people must triumph over their enemies. But then every man must put his shoulder to the wheel, and contribute in purse and exertions according to his abilities. The man who is not true to the cause on this occasion, may never be able to atone afterwards for his fault. Every elector should consider the fate of the country to depend on himself. Public opinion should be made to bear powerfully in every neighbourhood on electors, so that the man, who, from pusillanimity might be led to betray his country, may tremble at the odium he will have to encounter.

It would be an eternal reproach to Englishmen, were they to allow the boroughmongers to triumph over them.

From the Morning Chronicle, April 26.

The King insulted by the borough-faction.—Never was so gross and flagrant an insult offered to a prince, as was on Friday offered to our beloved and revered Sovereign, by some Peers of the Realm in their places in the House of Lords. To what excess will self-interest and other sordid motives lead men! Sir R. Peel, who is now pleased to play the part of leading anti-reformer, as he once did that of chief opponent to the cause of civil and religious liberty, was demoniac with fury, as a person possessed, and resembled one “having a devil.” His face was pale as a sheet, his lips wore the hue of ink, and it was said by many who saw him, that by the entrance of the Black Rod he was probably saved from an apoplectic fit. Whence all this fury? Because common decency is wholly disregarded by this gentleman and his accomplices when there is a question about touching the darling rotten boroughs. This is Sir Robert Peel’s present cue, and the borough faction may possibly fancy they have got a good supporter. Let them not deceive themselves. In a month, he, and Mr. Goulburn, and his brothers, may just as swiftly wheel round, and be for reform, ballot and all, as they did in 1829 on the Catholic Question.

Lord Mansfield, who lectures by the hour, in his prosing conceited way, for decorum of discussion in newspapers and for Peers’ privileges, and seems to think he has a monopoly of loyalty, exceeded all bounds of common decency in the very presence of his King,

when his Majesty was actually entering the House of Peers. It is said that the good-natured King asked "What is all that noise?" and was answered, "*The Peers debating*," which somewhat astounded his Majesty.

Next to Lord Mansfield, no one forgot himself so shamefully as Lord Lyndhurst; and we would just ask the Ministers one question, especially the Lord Chancellor, in whose gift the high office of Chief Baron is, whether Lord Lyndhurst was promoted to it upon an understanding that his Lordship would oppose his Majesty's Government? Lord Lyndhurst apparently has made some great miscalculation, as well as lost his recollection of his late promotion. Does he think that the conduct of the Ministry cancelled the obligations he lay under to them, that conduct being only the sin of coming forward in an honest support of reform, the cause which Lord L. himself once very honestly supported?

But what shall we say of the peers who had the decency to complain of the Lord Chancellor for leaving the House to meet his Royal Master—on being summoned to do so by the Usher of the Black Rod! They actually said his Lordship should have put the question, and remained and kept his Majesty at the door, while Lords Mansfield, Lyndhurst, and Co. were carrying on their violent debate! Here let us contrast with the conduct of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Mansfield, Lord Lyndhurst, and Lord Londonderry, the *dignified demeanour of the Duke of Wellington and his party*, who abstained from giving their presence and countenance to such violent and outrageous scenes. They *well deserved of their King and their country*. Their line of conduct is plain and consistent and honest and intelligible. They oppose Reform. We think them quite wrong. But they *do err conscientiously and fairly*. The petty distinctions taken by the others, who are furious against the Government measure, but *have misgivings that some reform must pass, so they affect to be for some reform*. We say affect, because every argument they use, every topic they appeal to, is distinctly directed *against all reform*, the smallest as well as the greatest. And, accordingly, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Goulburn, and all, were against every kind and degree of reform, from the first instant of their coming into public life, down to the hour when they discovered, *to other day*, that it might be convenient for them to affect some reforming opinions. But these gentlemen *are nimble in their evolutions*. How quickly did Mr. Goulburn turn round in favour of the Catholic Question on the day of the King's Speech, 1829! He had always been against anything like concession to Catholics till that hour; and ever since he has been an emancipator. So of Sir R. Peel and the Test Act. He as quickly wheeled round, and came to be for the repeal, the moment they saw Lord J. Russell's Motion was carried; though he said most solemnly that he deemed it ruinous to the church. Again we say, these men *cannot be either respected or trusted*. But to support them

as tools of anti-reform, some Dukes and Lords *are now subscribing thousands of pounds*. Let the people be on their guard, and let all good men meet so *foul and corrupt an attempt of the faction by the Sovereign Subscription*.

I must stop here to offer a few remarks to my readers. I do not think that the assertion made by Dr. BLACK, that in voting for an anti-reformer, we should vote *against the liberty of the press*, any more than we should in voting for one of the present Ministers. Of that, however, I shall say no more at present; there will be enough to be said about that hereafter. I am for the bill: I am for sinking all private considerations for the sake of accomplishing this great public good; but I am not for telling lies: I am not for putting forward false pretences, as this is, with regard to the liberty of the press. The less that is said about that matter at present the better. In imitation of the labourers, we have dropped all hostility for the purpose of aiding in the carrying of this bill; but if Dr. BLACK be wise, he will not mix up along with the bill, praises of the present Ministers with regard to their love of the liberty of the press.

The last article which I have inserted from the *Chronicle* is, in my opinion, a very indiscreet publication. As far as relates to the insult said to be offered to the King by what is here called the borough faction, it is a mere matter of fact, and very well worth recording; but, what is the main drift of the article? It is to cause it to be believed that, at last, if they find themselves pressed by the people: now, mind this: if they find themselves pressed by the people, PEEL and GOULBURN will turn round, will offer to make a reform, and will even tender more to the people than is tendered to them by this bill. The speculation is this; and this speculation is manifestly in the mind of the writer of this article; namely, that the Ministers will probably find themselves in a decided minority when the Parliament shall reassemble; that they will then be beaten in the House of Commons; that their opponents will not come, however, and

thrust them out of place by a mere rejection of the Reform Bill; but will thrust them out as *incapable men*, and instantly come into place with a project of reform of their own, and, as this writer observes, "*ballot and all!*" This is the drift of the whole article; and it is curious that, while the writer calls upon the people, implores the people, to be on their guard against so *foul and corrupt an attempt of the faction*, it also (see the bottom of the first paragraph of the article) *calls upon the boroughmongers not to be deceived by this faction!* How monstrously eager this man must be to keep the present Ministers in their places. "Let them (the boroughmongers) not deceive themselves; for, in a month, PEEL, GOULBURN, and his brothers, may swiftly wheel round and be for reform, *ballot and all!*" May they so! Why, I say, then, let the boroughmongers deceive themselves, and let us have *reform, ballot and all!*" I do not want to be upon my guard against this. This is what I want. I am quite content without the ballot, though I think it folly to attempt to withhold it. I think it a gross blunder that this Ministry has committed not to include it in their bill: I call upon my readers to rally round the Ministers and the bill, as the bill now is; but, if there come a Minister to tender us the *ballot into the bargain*, what an inconsistent dog must I be to call upon the people to be upon their guard against such Minister!

This, therefore, is very weak writing; and it is quite inconsistent with the late writings of Dr. BLACK, which have all been decidedly in favour of the ballot. But there is another passage in the middle of the last paragraph above inserted, which is very well worthy of the best attention of the reader. If he looks at that passage, he will perceive that the Duke of WELLINGTON and his party are placed in contrast with PEEL, and with Lords MANSFIELD, LYNDHURST, and LONDON-DERRY; and the Duke and his party are praised to the skies for having abstained from giving their countenance to such outrageous scenes: we are told that they are consistent and honest, and have

"*deserved well of their King and country.*" What! they (if there be anybody, besides the Duke) WHO WILL GIVE US NO REFORM AT ALL; they who say that a single change shall not be made in a rotten borough; they who, of course, would see civil war rage rather than abolish Old Sarum or Gatton: they have *deserved well of their King and country*; while the others, who allow that some reform is necessary, are reprobated in the strongest terms that our language affords; one are called a foul and corrupt faction; are represented as worthy of neither trust nor respect; are called *infamous* and *infernal* boroughmongers! Why this distinction? Why this lenity towards the Duke; why these praises poured out upon him all at once? Why! why, because he does not come, and, by his presence, give countenance to this opposition to the Ministry; because he does not come and give his countenance to those who seem resolved to get into place, even if it be necessary to give us "*ballot and all!*" In short, articles like this tend to injure the cause, rather than do it good. Why should the writer be so anxious to persuade the boroughmongers not to be deceived by PEEL and GOULBURN; why should he be so anxious to preserve "*infernal*" men from being deceived? Why should he endeavour to terrify them with asserting that PEEL and GOULBURN would wheel round and give us reform, "*ballot and all!*" Why should he be so anxious, before concluding the same article, to persuade the people that it is necessary to be upon their guard against these same men? In short, every line of this article shows that there was no sincerity in the mind of the writer; and the impression which it makes upon every reader of sense is, that there is great necessity to be, at any rate, on his guard against the writings of Dr. BLACK, or those who assist him in this pressing emergency.

The next extract that I shall insert describes to us the project of *The Times* newspaper, for the raising of money to counteract the efforts of the borough-

mongers. I should first insert, indeed, two paragraphs from *The Courier*, taken from *The Morning Herald*, describing the movements of the Boroughmongers, preparatory to the elections :—

It appears that a club, self-styled "The Conservative Senate," is sitting daily at No. 10, Charles-street, St. James's-square. This society is, in fact, a club of boroughmongers, and the object of its members is the same as the *Cato-street conspirators*—namely, to subdue the King's Government. We say that every man who belongs to this "*Charles-street gang*" is little better than a traitor, and that the names of the parties, should they ever transpire, will go down to posterity as the names of men guilty of conspiring against the prerogatives of the Crown and the liberties of the country. It is said however that should the boroughmongers succeed, by bribery and threats, to return a parliament unfriendly to reform, the King will immediately dissolve it, and call a new one, *withholding the writs from the rotten boroughs*. If his Majesty possesses the power to do this, which we doubt, he would be perfectly justified in pursuing such a course. But, be this as it may, the people ought now to put forth their best energies ;— if they do not, it is our firm opinion that despotism or revolution will be the consequence. —*Morning Herald*.

It is said that the boroughmongers have already subscribed no less a sum than one million and a half sterling for the purpose of influencing the elections ; or, in other words, for the purpose of bribing the electors to return anti-reformers. It is added that a considerable portion of this sum is to be applied in returning Mr. Ward for the City. We ask the people of England whether such things are to be borne ? We ask whether they will thus suffer themselves to be tyrannized over by the insolence of wealth—of wealth wrung from their own pockets ? We are told that the Duke of Northumberland has subscribed no less than 250,000*l.*, and that Sir R. Peel has put his name down for 50,000*l.* A friend of ours, who has seen a list of subscriptions, says that the highest sums down are twenty-five thousand, twelve thousand, and ten thousand pounds. But we understand that this is the public list, and that there is, in fact, another list in which the larger sums have been subscribed !—*Morning Herald*.

I should observe here, that I cannot believe the facts stated in these paragraphs. There may be no intentional falsehood, perhaps ; but the facts are incredible. Some large sums may have been subscribed ; but, great exaggeration here must be. The following is the counter-project put forth by *The Times* newspaper ; certainly a very good project, if it can be carried into effect.

But more must be done : we call upon every man in the kingdom to consider the cause as his own, and the victory as depending on his individual exertions. The enemies of reform are most active. Meetings are held every hour for the purpose of raising money to *buy up* the rights of Englishmen. English Dukes, Scotch Dukes, and right honourable Baronets, are in league to crush the noble and patriotic attempt of the King and his Ministers to *restore the rights* of Englishmen. These worthies have resolved that a seat in Parliament *shall be sold* like mackerel at Billingsgate. They have resolved that the people of England are so base, so degraded, so incapable of moral feeling, so deaf to the call of national honour, that they *will*, like Esau, rush forward to the market and sell their birthrights for a mess of pottage. People of England ! do these noble and right honourable conspirators judge rightly of your character ? Arise, and trample on the calumny ! Come forward as one man, and help those who are exerting every nerve to help you. The bill will give the right of voting to 500,000 persons. Let each of these persons subscribe his mite forthwith, and in a few days so overwhelming a fund will be created, that the boroughmongers *must* fly away in despair. It is, as we have before stated, the last struggle. The corruptionists, who struggle for their dirty existence, fight the last fight of despair. The people of England fight for liberty, for justice, for the emancipation of themselves and their posterity from the most degrading of all slaveries—the degradation of voluntary submission to a yoke which one great effort may shake off for ever. Let each of the persons who by this bill will be raised to the dignity of freemen, subscribe, if only 1*l.* each on the average, and in a few days we shall have half a million of money to be expended in the most righteous of causes.

In the meantime, we recommend the following as a sketch of the resolutions which might be generally adopted, but more particularly in the unrepresented towns :—

"Resolved, 1. That the unrelenting enemies of reform and of the people are making every exertion to defeat the measures of his Majesty's Government in favour of the good cause.

"2. That those enemies, besides resorting to other measures, are subscribing large sums of money, to form a fund for overwhelming the voice of the people, by means of corruption, treating, and all manner of extravagant expenditure, at the approaching elections.

"3. That this desperate effort of the expiring borough faction may prove successful, unless it shall be vigorously resisted.

"4. That it is the bounden duty of every friend of the people, and of reform—of every man who cherishes the free institutions of our country—to rally round our beloved Sovereign, and save him and the country from the fangs of this desperate faction.

"5. That the most effectual and constitutional means of performing this duty is, for

the people to form associations, in order to defray the legal expenses, and bear the labours of contested elections all over the country.

"6. That besides local exertions, a subscription of not more than a sovereign each be immediately begun to form a general fund for opposing by all lawful means, the corrupt and illegal efforts of the borough faction.

"7. That , bankers, do receive subscriptions for this purpose, and that he appointed a committee for the management of the fund so raised."

Let these resolutions be adopted, and the triumph will be decisive, and as speedy as decisive. We know our countrymen—on their determined spirit and irresistible energy we rely with perfect confidence.

I am glad to see, by the papers of this morning (Wednesday), that a committee for this purpose is likely to be formed; and, if the plan be completely settled and published before this paper of mine goes to the press, I shall communicate intelligence of it to my readers. Nothing that any man can do ought to be left undone: the fate of a question very frequently depends upon a single effort; but I am of opinion, that the main thing to be done, as far as relates to London, and other great towns, is, to prevent the out-voters from going to the polling places. Now, suppose some corrupt ruffian to offer a voter ten pounds to go down to Norwich, it would be better for that voter to receive three or four pounds, and not to quit his home and his work. My opinion is; and, indeed, I am sure of it, that nineteen out of twenty would take the three pounds for staying at home rather than the ten pounds for going to Norwich. The same with regard to Dover; and, in this way, very effectual service might be rendered to the cause, and that, too, without the commission of any crime or any dirty act whatever. Journeymen might make use of their influence with their brother-journeymen; and, perhaps, with more effect than would be the consequence of expending two or three hundred thousand pounds.

The following speech, delivered by COLONEL JONES, on the 25th instant, at a meeting in the borough of Southwark, has excited a good deal of attention. The reader will see why

it has attracted attention. COLONEL JONES is, to all appearance; and the public has now seen a great deal of him; a man so fit to be a Member of Parliament at this time, that one cannot help lamenting that any-thing should have occurred to set him aside. His motive for declining a contest adds greatly to our regret that there should not have been a place for such a man.

Colonel JONES then rose and addressed the Meeting, observing upon the painful and difficult situation in which he was then placed; but before he said any-thing personally relating to himself, he would say that their warmest and best thanks were due to that noble-minded and patriotic King, who, by a single act, established their liberties upon a solid and immutable basis. Could he fail in that expression of gratitude to which such an act was entitled, he should be undeserving the protection of any body of men, and worthy to be execrated by every man in the British Empire. The extraordinary firmness exercised by his Majesty was beyond all praise. He knew something of what passed in the interior of the Palace, and there never existed a deeper conspiracy than that which was formed to deter the Sovereign from gratifying the wishes of his people, and promoting their true interests. He was not only assailed by the menaces of his male relatives, but the tears of the female members of the Royal Family. He was beset, actually besieged, in every corner of the Palace, and told by more than one, that to agree to a dissolution would amount to signing his own abdication. He next proceeded to call the attention of the Meeting to the inestimable service conferred upon the nation by Lord Grey, for he was the author of the great bill, and the other Ministers were but instruments in his hands. He should now say a few words of himself, which, on the present occasion, was no very agreeable task. He assured them that he had not been induced to come amongst them from any feeling of personal ambition, for that very morning a carriage was brought to his door, and money offered to pay his expenses, with an invitation to stand for a very important and populous place. He then reminded them of his introduction to the borough, the motives which led him to withdraw upon that occasion; the delicacy he felt towards Sir Robert Wilson, it having been said that he (Colonel Jones) had, by one of his letters in the public prints, put an extinguisher on Sir Robert, and therefore, he had resolved not to come forward in opposition to their late Member—but the commission of a political *felo de se* left him at perfect liberty. They recently had presented to them the brother of a great man, but that circumstance of itself was not sufficient to show that the brother of the great man had any claims of his own to

the representation of any independent place; but so popular was the Lord Chancellor at the present moment, that if he sent his wig to the people of Southwark, they would adopt it as a substitute for a Member. (Laughter, and cries of "Bravo.") Whether he sent his brother, his wig, or his puppy, they would have the nominee of the Lord Chancellor and no one else, though, on principle, the Lord Chancellor ought to be ashamed to send his brother amongst them. (Some applause and much confusion.) The Lord Chancellor was the patron of Law Reform, and proposed making the Masters in Chancery Judges: he ought, therefore, not to encourage a Master to become a Member of the House of Commons. He did not resign for the purpose of enabling Mr. Brougham to come in, *but to prevent a collision amongst the true reformers.* (A voice in the crowd: Go on, we will secure you plenty of plumpers.) He proceeded to observe, that Lord John Russell did exceedingly wrong in coming on the preceding evening to interfere on behalf of Mr. Brougham. It was conduct highly objectionable on the part of one connected with the Administration; but it was, like the rest, in perfect accordance with the old villany of the Whigs. (Great applause.) He added, that Sir Francis Burdett had promised to attend the Meeting of Mr. Brougham's friends, but did not come, hearing that Colonel Jones was in the field. Whenever returned to Parliament he had determined to labour by the side of Joseph Hume and Daniel O'Connell.

MR. HUNT'S PROFOUND VENERATION FOR THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

Mr. Hunt, on Wednesday week last, demonstrated that baseness is attached to his intense vanity and ignorance. That he has professed the highest regard for the people; that he has frequently boasted himself to be the representative of all England; that he has objected to the Reform Bill because it does not specifically embrace the industrious classes; that he has received from those classes the highest honour which they could bestow, or he enjoy, and by their means been raised to an eminence for which he has ever panted; and that he has received the pecuniary reward of patriotism by the sale of his blacking, every one is perfectly aware. Professing such principles, and enriched by such favours, gratitude, or at least the suppression of insult, might reasonably be expected from Mr. Hunt towards the people; but the ex-Member for Preston, not possessing such a degree of virtue, turns round upon his benefactors, and, like a viper, stings the very hand by which he has been cherished and exalted!

To give the base tory-faction another advantage in the House, and to demonstrate his anxiety to suppress the efficacy of petitions, and ensure the triumph of corruption, this patriot *par excellence* said, in reference to a petition which was presented a day or two before the dissolution, that the petition was of a

fictitious character, and "*he knew that for five shillings he could obtain any number of signatures he might require to any petition!*" (Cheers.) It is almost unnecessary to offer any comment on such a base assertion. Hardy as Mr. Hunt professes to be, he might not like to be the man who proposed such a bribe for such a purpose. But to stigmatize a people as being capable of such contemptible corruption, after he had lauded them as honest and patriotic, and thence to neutralize the power of petitions, by invalidating their general integrity, is conduct of which none but such a man as Mr. Hunt could have been guilty. The people, it is hoped, will not again confide in one who has thus denounced their honesty, impeded their interests, and displayed so large an amount of ignorance, stolidity, and ingratitude. Painful as I feel it to be, to speak thus of a man who for so many years acted—if not in the most enlightened manner, at least honestly and zealously—with the people, I cannot do otherwise, without a base desertion of my duty, and a betrayal of my trust.—*Carpenter's Political Letter, April 30, 1831.*

From the Morning Chronicle, 26th April.

No popular idol, for a long series of years, has had such a tumble from the high pinnacle of his celebrity as the *ex-Member for Preston*. Wherever he appears he is pelted; wherever he does not appear he is pasquinaded. In one place they break his blacking-bottles; in another they burn all his labels; in a third they burn a "counterfeit resemblance" of "the orator's" person, as a fitting termination, no doubt, to the career of a counterfeit politician. This last "dishonoured rub" was given a few days since in the field of Peterloo, in the presence of a greater number of spectators than ever attended the most renowned exploits of the hero himself in the same place. To be pelted and have his bottles broken might, perhaps, be endured; but *to be ignominiously burnt on Peterloo*, the scene of all his former glories, must be too much even for the patience of the philosopher of Glastonbury. This is, indeed, "the unkindest cut of all."

LIBERAL WHIG PROSECUTION.

WHEN this prosecution was commenced against me by the sly mode of a Bill of Indictment at the Old Bailey, where the Grand Jury cannot, from the nature of things, inquire into any thing further than the fact of publication, there was hardly a man amongst the public who had the smallest idea that this prosecution, and particularly by such

an indirect course, had been instituted by the Government. Though mightily well-disposed, from long experience, to suspect every-thing done by the Whigs, I myself did not believe that such a thing could have originated with men exercising the powers of the Government; and I expressed myself to this effect at the time. I soon found, however, that we were all deceived in this respect; and that the prosecution had been commenced by the Government very soon after the attack made upon me by TREVOR in the House of Commons. The prosecuting steps have regularly proceeded on; and since I wrote the former part of this Register, and, indeed, this very moment (Wednesday evening), I have received regular notice of trial for the sittings after term; and therefore, as the sittings begin on the 11th of May, the trial will take place on the 11th, 12th, or 13th of that month, in the Court of King's Bench at Guildhall, in the city of London, on which occasion, God granting me life and health, I will meet, before the Chief Justice and a Special Jury, which will be called for by the Attorney-General; I will meet that Attorney-General and all his supporters and abettors. It was not, therefore, without reason that I, in the former part of this article, dissented from the opinion of Dr. BLACK, that, to vote for the opponents of this Ministry, was to "vote against the liberty of the press." Just twenty years I have been writing and publishing under a series of Tory Ministers and Tory Attorney-Generals, the much-complained of SCARLETT not excepted: during these twenty years I have never heard even the whisper of a Government prosecution against me; but a Whig Ministry had not been in power two months, not three times twenty days, before such prosecution began to be plotted, and under what circumstances, in what manner, and with what manifest motives, I shall, I trust, be able amply to show in my defence upon this trial; for defence it shall be, without the retracting, or endeavouring to soften, one single word or syllable. I am conscious that I have done nothing but my bare

duty; for doing that, the destruction of my mind or body, or both, is now meditated; but, with the blessing of God, and with the integrity of my countrymen to support me, I trust that, in this case, as well as in the former, those who premeditate my destruction will fail in their object. It was during the general blaze of the illuminations of last night (I am writing this on Thursday morning) that I received this notice of trial, while I was sitting in a room behind the curtains drawn to weaken the blaze of the illumination of my own windows. It was at this moment, and while I heard the rejoicings in the street, that this proof of Ministerial malignity was put into my hand. "What!" exclaimed I to myself, "can these men, who well know that I have done more towards the producing this event than they have; that I have done more than any hundred or thousand men to produce this event; his Majesty only excepted; can these men really rejoice in their hearts at this event!" However, I will not pursue these observations further at present: but I cannot refrain from observing, that the accusations against PEELE for his sentiments on "*Journalism*;" that these attacks upon him on this account, ought to be a little moderated by those who call upon us to vote in favour of this liberal Ministry. I cannot help observing, too, that this present Attorney-General, my prosecutor, talked the other night, about the *tyranny of the press*; so that, while we adhere to the bill, while we adhere to the cause of the people, let us be careful how we sing up the praises of those who make this sort of display of what is called their liberality. The Attorney-General will have to present himself, in a few days, before the people of Nottingham as the friend of liberty, as the advocate of a free press, as the advocate of Parliamentary Reform, at the very moment when he will be noting his brief, perhaps, the fee upon which brief the people of Nottingham and I myself shall have to pay a part, and which brief will contain the regularly laid plan for the de-

struction of the man to whom the nation ascribes, in great part, the measure for the accomplishment of which we are now called upon to struggle. I will only add, that as I always have so I shall now make my own private feelings yield to what I deem the good of my country. It is just, it is necessary, it is every way proper, that my readers should be informed of these proceedings, manifestly aimed at my health and life. These readers are numerous; they are to be found in every part of the kingdom, they are warmly attached to me; they will boil with resentment at this proceeding; but I most solemnly exhort them not to suffer their feelings on this account to slacken their efforts in the smallest degree during the ensuing elections; but to do every thing in their power in order to insure success to the great measure brought in by men who meditate my destruction. Upon this principle I shall act myself. Compelled by this proceeding to remain in London, I cannot do a tenth part of what I could do, were it in my power to go into the country at this time. I can only perform the duty of a liveryman of London; and, laying aside my great dislike to one of the four Aldermen, I shall, if there be any opposition, vote for the whole four, as I exhort every liveryman to do, be his personal or political likings or dislikings what they may. It is the *measure*, and not the men, that I wish to preserve. So that the *measure be carried*, I care not who is the instrument; and this has been my tone from the beginning of this discussion to the present hour; but I never can hold my tongue, I never can lay down my pen, while we are called upon to vote for these men in order to secure the liberty of the press. When the public look at the thing which they call a libel; when the public behold what publications they suffer to pass without any notice at all; they will be quite astonished at this proceeding. And it will be my duty, a duty which I will not fail to perform if I have life and health, to remove this astonishment out of the minds of that public. Here I quit the subject for

the present, notifying to my readers that I shall be quite ready to meet the "*liberal*" Whig-Attorney-General when he shall return from his constituents of Nottingham, swelling with the determination to destroy me in property, health or life, and, as I dare say he hopes, in all three.

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—It occurs to me to point out to my readers that which they will deem very curious. They know that this prosecution was, in fact, begun by ARTHUR TREVOR, in the House of Commons. There were speech after speech spread all about the country, containing garbled extracts and malignant interpretations. Now, this TREVOR, who sat for the borough of New Romney, vacated his seat to let in Sir ROGER GRESLEY, who could not return to Durham, and went to Durham himself, to get elected in GRESLEY's place, supported in both places by the Marquess of LONDONDERRY, and avowing his *hostility to the Reform Bill*. The Ministers know this very well, yet these sincere reformers are pushing on, with all their might, the prosecution begun by this very TREVOR. This is a very curious circumstance, or, rather, combination of circumstances, and as such I leave it to the reflections of my readers. At any rate, I am determined to make a stand for the real liberty of the press.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

His Majesty went in state to prorogue the two Houses of Parliament this day. Although a general expectation prevailed that Parliament would be prorogued, few persons were aware that his Majesty would prorogue it in person. Among the lower classes, none could be acquainted with it till the preparation for the ceremony began—towards one o'clock. The formation of lines of Policemen in Parliament-street, soon after that time, conveyed to the public an intimation of what was to happen, and very soon the houses on the line of his Majesty's route, and the streets, were crowded with spectators. The King was enthusiastically received by the people, who seemed sensible that he had come abroad on a good cause, and cheered him all the way down to the House, and all the way on his return. No doubt, if more time had been allowed, a much greater crowd would have been collected. His

Majesty was accompanied in his state carriage, drawn by cream-coloured horses, by (we believe) Lord Hill, and preceded by two other stately equipages. On his arrival at Old Palace-yard, the crowd to see his Majesty became very dense, and the cheers were very enthusiastic.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—FRIDAY, APRIL 22.

* The proceedings of this evening in the House of Lords, will be given in next week's *Register*.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The vote against Ministers last night having forced them to come to a determination to dissolve Parliament as speedily as possible, both to avoid the recurrence of such an event this evening, and to avert the consequences of an address to the Crown being carried against them in the House of Lords, the Speaker, dressed in his full robes of office, took the Chair at half-past two o'clock, and the House was almost instantly crowded with Members.

Mr. HODGES having presented a petition from Hythe, in Kent, in favour of the Reform Bill,

Sir R. VIVYAN, on the motion that it be brought up, rose to address the House. Although he might on this occasion be told, as he was last night, that the present was not a fitting opportunity to address that House on the subject of the Reform Bill, yet when he saw the Speaker dressed in his full official robes, and knew as much from that fact as from the agitation visible out of doors, that a dissolution of Parliament was at hand, he thought he had a right to offer some observations to them before they were sent back to their constituents. (Cheers.) This was, he believed, the first time for many a year that the Parliament of this country had been dissolved by the exercise of the royal prerogative, after the House of Commons had come to a vote which hindered the Government from proceeding with the Ordnance Estimates. (Cheers.) In consequence of the adjournment proposed by his honourable Friend the Member for Marlborough—proposed, he admitted, for the purpose of stopping the passing of these estimates—the Government had adopted the determination to dissolve the Parliament, although the supplies had not been voted, and the estimates not gone through, calculating, no doubt, on their being able to procure a Bill of Indemnity from that next Parliament, which they hoped would prove more favourable to their wishes. (Hear, hear.) He thought, however, that they should not make too sure of such a result; for he doubted much whether, even with the assistance of that bill which they now counted so securely on being able to carry, they were likely to obtain a Parliament reformed to such an extent as to grant a Bill of Indemnity under such circumstances to any Ministry, even to one much

more prudent than the present had proved itself; and a less prudent one it would be difficult for any one conversant with our history to point out. He might, however, be permitted to say, that in the course of a very few years the country, and even Ministers themselves, would bitterly repent the steps they had taken on this occasion. They had incurred an awful responsibility in this country, and particularly in Ireland, and brought into serious jeopardy their own welfare, and that of all connected with them. It was useless to conceal the fact, that even if revolution became the consequence of the course that day to be adopted, his Majesty had an undoubted right to dissolve his Parliament, and to call for a new set of men to represent the opinions of his people. But those who gave him that advice incurred a most awful responsibility; and, in his opinion, the success of that measure on which they rested their defence for the dissolution was extremely doubtful, while they had sacrificed the peace of the country for the purpose of catching at a fleeting and momentary popularity. (Hear, hear.) He was glad of an opportunity to speak his sentiments on this subject; and he would take the advantage of the few moments of existence which was still left to them to speak a few words of truth to his Majesty's Ministers, to relieve them from the errors into which they had fallen, and to show them that they had much mistaken and much misrepresented the manner and the means through which they came into power. A strong party of the Members of that House became, it was well known, discontented with what had taken place with reference to a portion of the empire. They wished to see a powerful, and able, and enlightened body of men placed in the Government, because they saw every motion made for the purpose of inquiring into the distresses of the country denounced, and every other motion for the same object rendered utterly useless. They felt, therefore, that the Government of the time being, as much for what it had done as from its refusals to listen to any remonstrances with reference to what should be done, was unworthy of the confidence of the country, and they determined to oppose it. It was the body he had just spoken of that had turned out the late Government, and brought the present into power. (Hear, hear.) He could tell them that was the cause of their elevation. It was not the desire of the country for reform, nor the declaration of the noble Duke at the head of the late Government against reform, that had deprived his Government of power, but the unanimous wish of the country that its state should be taken into consideration. Now, what had been the conduct of the present Government since they obtained office? They had not done any one act to satisfy the country, but, on the contrary, had proved themselves the most incapable and the most inconsistent set of men that were ever called to preside over its affairs, making pro-

positions one day and abandoning them the next, and even withdrawing their famous Reform Bill, because that House had thought fit to express an opinion that the number of the representatives of the people should not be lessened. (Cheers.) It was well known that the party which voted against the late Government did not expect that that Government would be succeeded by a pure Whig Administration. An Administration of that kind had, however, been formed, and relied on the unpopularity of their adversaries, and fortified by the assistance of a species of *condottieri* (cheers), who went round from one side of the House to the other, first declaring against reform, and afterwards upholding the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, they now sought to hold power contrary to the votes of the Members of that House. The present Ministers, he admitted, took office with the feeling of the House in their favour; for they knew well that they possessed no means of raising a majority through their own party. They were supported and upheld in their struggles for power by his friends; they had been tried, and found wanting (cheers); they had tried the right honourable Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty, and he was found wanting (cheers); they had tried another right honourable Gentleman on measures of commerce and finance, and he also had been found wanting. (Cheers.) The First Lord of the Admiralty, in a short speech at the commencement of his career, had expressed himself as if he was favourable to a change of the currency; but he had been immediately afterwards contradicted by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This, then, was the manner in which they tampered with a question that had produced the greatest possible excitement in the country. When they proceeded to deal with others of as great importance in a similar manner, and their imprudent course was stayed by the House, then they advised his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament. (Cheers.) The Members of that House were then to be sent back to their constituents as hostile to all reform, stigmatised as opposed to every species of reform, and setting at nought the feelings and wishes of their constituents. They who said this—the Ministers who proclaimed this to the country—knew that it was not so; they knew that the House was not hostile to all reform, but they felt that the House had changed its opinion with respect to them; and he would tell them one of the reasons why they did so: they had proclaimed, that for the first time in the history of this country it was about to possess a Ministry that scorned to govern by influence. But what had they done? They had advised his Majesty to turn out of his household those persons who held opinions contrary to their wishes, and they had drawn from the Whig boroughs all the Members who dared to vote against them, thus using that very influence they had boasted they would never have recourse to.

(Cheers.) The learned Civilian said, last night, that he (Sir R. Vyvyan) wished to raise the No-Popery cry in this country. He avowed that that was the feeling on which he proceeded with reference to the Reform Bill. It was necessary that he should give utterance to that feeling when he found the balance of representation between Ireland and England about to be destroyed; when he found the number of the Members of Ireland about to be increased, and those of England to be diminished; and at a time when he found that the members of the Catholic Church in that country used their utmost exertions to support that political interest which would aggrandise their religion at the expense of that of the Protestants. He did not blame the priests for preferring the support of their own religion to that of the other, but he did blame the Ministers who gave them the means to exercise their power; and who had, for the sake of supporting their own views in this country, felt no dread of resorting to a dissolution of Parliament, and to a new election in Ireland. (Cheers.) It appeared that the Member for Waterford was to be brought up for judgment; but it should be recollected, that there might be such a thing as a cross. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Did not the whole proceeding look exceedingly like a compact between the honourable and learned Gentleman and the First Lord of the Treasury? The noble Lord, it was well known, had avowed his determination that the Union should not be dissolved. The honourable and learned Gentleman had, on his part, avowed that the great object of his life was the accomplishment of Catholic Emancipation; and that, when that was achieved, the next great object was that of the repeal of the Union. Which of these two persons, then, was to give up his object—the honourable and learned Member for Waterford, or the First Lord of the Treasury? Was the Union with Ireland to be maintained or dissolved? Could they consider it so certain, after what they had heard, that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not persevere in his intention, the moment he obtained an opportunity? He wished that the honourable and learned Gentleman had been in his place to answer him, for that hon. and learned Gentleman really was the Governor of Ireland. He would have expressed to the honourable and learned Member his hope, that he would exercise the influence now placed in his hands—an influence more extensive than that possessed by any other man—to preserve the peace of Ireland, in mercy to the weakness of the Administration, and still more in mercy to the Irish people themselves. (Hear, hear.) A circumstance had come to his knowledge, connected with the county of Cornwall, which he thought worthy of attention. He should not mention names of persons, or titles or representatives; but he should merely say, that four persons were at the present moment confined in the jail at Bodmin, because, as it was stated in their petition, they had not voted

for a certain Gentleman who had since been returned to that House for a borough in a different part of the kingdom. The borough in which this occurred once belonged to a Whig. It had now been purchased by a Tory, and what, therefore, had the Whig done? The noble Lord who now professed himself so firm a friend to the disfranchisement of all boroughs, adhered, it would seem, most tenaciously, to the maintenance of the rights he possessed in those which belonged to him. Under the Constitution as it now existed, the country had flourished for two centuries, but if the bill brought in by the Government should be carried, the measures would be of a very different description, and the Constitution would admit of a very new construction. Already an attempt had been made on the property of the fundholder. (Cheers.) Did the fundholders think, then, that if the Parliament was reformed according to the project of the right hon. Gentlemen opposite, that their property would remain unvisited in the midst of the spoliation? (Cheers.) He stated it as his firm belief, founded on the experience of every country of which history makes mention, that no new Government, nor any new mode of representation, had ever much respect for the debts that had been incurred under preceding systems. (Cheers.) He would say, that the fundholder would vainly hope to save his property if the Parliament should be altered. (Cheers.) Past Administrations had, from their situation or their mismanagement, saddled the country with heavy debts. How, then, did the present Government propose to lower these debts, except by taxing the funds? (Cheers, and cries of order.) There was no use in standing on forms at that time. It could not be expected that at such a crisis, and on such an occasion, he should speak directly to the question. (Cheers and order.) The question, in fact, was simply this—was Parliament to be dissolved or not? (Cheers and laughter, and cries of order.) The question was, whether that Parliament was to be dissolved, and the Members sent back to their constituents, because they had pronounced an opinion that the English representation should not be reduced? (Cries of order.)

Sir F. BURDETT rose to order. The hon. Baronet had said there was no question before the House on which the hon. Member for Cornwall could address them in this manner. He knew a Petition had been presented on the subject of Parliamentary Reform; but the hon. Member for Cornwall said the question on which he was speaking was Dissolution or not Dissolution, and that he had a right to speak on that question. From both propositions he (Sir F. Burdett) begged to express his dissent. (Hear, hear.)

The SPEAKER said the question arising out of the Petition from the hon. Member for Kent was Parliamentary Reform. The question for him to determine was, whether or not the observations of the hon. Member for

Cornwall had a proper application to that question. He confessed he must say that, according to his opinion of the Rules and Orders of that House, he could not see that the observations of the hon. Member for Cornwall were not applicable to it. (Cries of order, and Chair, and great confusion.) The right hon. Gentleman concluded by observing, with some emotion, that he wished to be permitted to hope that hon. Members would be good enough to compute the laws of order in that House as he had laid them down. (Cheers, and cries of order.)

Mr. TENNYSON wished to be permitted to say a few words to the House. (Cries of Order.) He should be the last man in that House to dispute the decisions of the Chair; but his hon. Friend had disputed the relevancy of the speech made by the hon. Member for Cornwall with reference to the petition, and he reminded the House that his hon. Friend charged that hon. Member with diverging into other matters not contained in the petition. (Order, and chair.)

The SPEAKER rose amidst loud cheers, and said the question was not whether the hon. Member had strictly adhered to what was contained within the four corners of the petition, but whether the general tenor and scope of his speech did not come within the subject matter introduced to the House by a petition on the subject of Reform. (Cheers.)

Mr. TENNYSON again rose amidst great confusion. He entirely agreed with what had fallen from the Speaker, but he begged to repeat that the hon. Baronet had charged the hon. Member for Cornwall with speaking on a question that was not before the House; and, added the hon. Member, although you gainsay it, Sir, I state it still. (Great confusion, cries of "Order," "Chair," &c.) I say it is most disorderly and unconstitutional for any hon. Member, be he whom he may, to state that the question before this House of Commons is, whether this House shall be dissolved or not. (Order, bar, chair, and great confusion for some minutes.)

Sir R. VIVYAN at length obtained a hearing, and observed that this was the first time, he believed, within their recollection, that the law of order, as laid down by the Speaker, had been disputed by any Member of that House (loud and long continued cheering), during which

Lord JOHN RUSSELL rose, and vainly attempted to obtain a hearing. We understood him to say, the hon. Baronet had been mistaken in supposing that the decision of the Speaker was disputed; but he was assailed with such shouts of order and chair, that he was compelled to give way to

Sir R. VIVYAN: The hon. Baronet recommended by observing that he could have wished much, when leave was obtained for him to go on, that some person had reminded him of the topic on which he was speaking. (Hear, and a laugh.) All that he had been saying came, however, to this: that Ministers

were about to incur a fearful responsibility, and that the consequences must be on their heads. (Hear.) They had held out an invitation to every class in the country to support the Reform Bill, as the means of securing them peculiar advantages. (Loud cheers.) But no change could take place, in this country in favour of one class, which must not produce some injury to another. How was it possible, he could ask, for a change to be made in the condition of one class of the population without materially injuring the other? Did the farmer think that, by supporting the Reform Bill, he would secure the integrity of the present Corn Laws? (Cheers.) If they did so, they were woefully mistaken. (Hear.) He believed, however, they held no such opinion. Did the Ministers think that, by the dissolution of Parliament, they could command a majority in the agricultural districts? If they did, he was sure they would find themselves grossly mistaken. It was but within the last five or six months that the farmers of these districts had their farms laid waste and their property pillaged. No means had been adopted to prevent the recurrence of these events, and Parliament was about to be dissolved. A stronger feeling of excitement had not prevailed in the country since the time of the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. The prevailing opinion sedulously fostered to produce the concurrence of the people was, that tithes were to be repealed under the influence of a reformed Parliament. The history of every country in the world showed, however, that when tithes were taken from the clergy they were immediately seized by the State; and instead of being devoted to the support of religion, they would become a most oppressive land tax. (Cheers.) He made no apology to those whom he addressed for having occupied so much of the time of the House; he had spoken his opinions on the subject of the course they were pursuing, and he would conclude by avowing it as his decided conviction, that if they were permitted to carry their bill, all funded property would become unsafe. Tithes would be devoted to confiscation, the House of Lords would be destroyed, and the Crown itself shaken from the head of the Sovereign. (Loud cheers.) In Ireland the bonds of society would be loosened, and fathers, and mothers, and children, rue the day that the Ministers, for their own purposes, resolved to revive all party differences and raise animosities at elections. (The hon. Member continued to address the House for some time longer, but at the conclusion of this sentence the report of the first gun which announced the arrival of his Majesty resounded through the House. It drowned the conclusion of the hon. Baronet's sentence; and the cheers, laughter, and cries of "order!" which followed the succeeding discharges completely prevented our hearing the purport of the hon. Baronet's observations. When the discharges of artillery were almost concluded, the hon. Baronet sat down, and

Sir R. Peel, Lord Althorp, and Sir Francis Burdett, rose at the same instant. The scene which followed was the most extraordinary, and the least agreeable, and the most degrading to the character of the House and a great proportion of its Members, that has probably taken place for the last fifty years. Sir R. Peel was received with loud shouts, groans, laughter, and cries of "Bar!" from the Ministerial Benches, responded by cries of "Order!" and "Chair!" from those of the opposition. All the endeavours of his friends, aided on his part by the most vehement action and gesticulation, having failed to obtain a hearing, or to induce Sir F. Burdett and Lord Althorp, who on their part were not wanting in equal supplicating gestures, to obtain a hearing,

The SPEAKER rose, and after a long interval of confusion, and repeated cries of "Shame!" succeeded in obtaining a hearing. The right hon. Gentleman, evidently labouring under great emotion, said this was the precise situation in which he believed they were placed:—Sir Robert Peel caught his eye at the conclusion of the speech of the hon. Baronet, the Member for Cornwall. Sir Francis Burdett rose at the same time; and on there being a call raised for a preference being given to Sir Francis, the noble Lord rose, and moved, as he had a right to do, that Sir Francis Burdett be now heard. The question he had now to put was, that Sir Francis Burdett be heard, and on that question the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) had as undoubted a right to speak, as on any other which could come before the House. (Cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL rose, with this decision in his favour, to address the House; but he was received with groans, shouts, laughter, and cries of "Bar!" from the Ministerial side of the House. The prominent actors in this scene, at least those who seemed to shout most vehemently, were Mr. Tennyson, Lord Howick, and Lord Duncannon, supported by those Members who usually sit immediately behind the Ministerial Bench.

The SPEAKER, amid loud cries of "Shame," again succeeded in obtaining a hearing. He observed, with the appearance of much wounded feeling, that when hon. Members appealed to him, and called on him to lay down the rules of order, he thought they should do him the favour to rest satisfied with his decision as to the question before the House, and the question to be spoken to. (Cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL, after some slight interruption, was then suffered to proceed. He said (with great vehemence of voice and action) that the rules under which that house had acted for centuries were not, it would appear, to be the rules of a reformed Parliament. (Loud and continued cheering.) The House had that day seen an example of a defiance of all regular authority, even from the place which was occupied by the Ministers of the Crown. (Hear.) He did not complain of the dissolution of that House. He complained merely

of the manner in which it was done. He did not, however, share the desponding feelings of his hon. Friend the Member for Cornwall. He had better hopes for England. (Hear, hear.) He did not advise his countrymen to sit with their hands before them, patiently expecting the confiscation of their funded property. (Loud cheers.) He had a proper confidence in the good sense, and intelligence, and just appreciation of character of the people of England; and he was satisfied, that if they united religiously in a just cause, and unite he knew they would, that there were no fears of a successful issue to that struggle into which they were about to enter. (Loud cheers and groans, and cries of "Bar," and order.) He would ask, was it decent thus to attempt to produce confusion, under the pretence of calling to order? If this was a foretaste of what was to take place hereafter, he might, indeed, call on them to beware of a reformed Parliament. (Cheers and groans.) He would tell them what they were about to establish by a reformed Parliament. If they carried that bill which Ministers had proposed to them, they would introduce the very worst and vilest species of despotism—the despotism of demagogues. (Cheers, and shouts of order.) They would introduce the despotism of Journalism (cheers)—that despotism which had brought neighbouring countries, once happy and flourishing, to the very brink of ruin and despair. (Loud cheering.) But, when he looked to Ireland; when he saw the state of society in the western counties of that kingdom; when he was told that rebellion had almost hoisted its standard; and when it was known that landed proprietors, well affected to the state, were left without the slightest protection to their property, and were compelled to move their families into the towns, for the protection of their lives and properties from the marauders, who, in open day, threatened them with pillage and destruction—he confessed he could not call up words to express his astonishment and regret at the course adopted by the Government. Instead of coming to Parliament to ask for new powers and new laws, to vindicate the outraged authority of the Government, the King's Ministers, at such a crisis, and under such a state of society in Ireland, had come to a resolution to dissolve the Parliament, in order that they might protect themselves from that loss of power with which they were threatened. (Cheers.) If the crown was to be so easily influenced—if its independence was so far extinguished—it ceased to be an object of interest to enter into its service. Ministers had, however, adopted this course, to protect their places; and they held them with the established character, in the eyes of the country, of having, during the time they had been in office, exhibited more incapacity (cheers)—more unfitness for the conduct of public business, than was ever shown by any ministry which has attempted to hold power in England. (Cheers.) They had been in office for some months, and not a single mea-

sure had emanated from them from the day they took office till that moment, for the benefit of the country. They had pursued the course adopted by all governments called liberal. They had tossed upon the table of that House some bills—a Game Bill and an Emigration Bill—and after having established, with respect to them and other measures, what they called liberal principles, they abandoned them to their fate. (Loud and continued cheers.) The right hon. Baronet was proceeding in the same strain, amidst much confusion, when he was interrupted by loud and vehement cries of "Bar!" He continued standing and speaking, when

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, the Usher of the Black Rod, appeared at the Bar of the House, and said, "I am commanded by his Majesty to command the immediate attendance of this honourable House in the House of Lords, to hear his Majesty's Royal Assent to several bills; and also his Majesty's Speech for the Prorogation of Parliament."

At twenty-five minutes to four the SPEAKER returned to the House, and intimated to the Members, that having been summoned to attend his Majesty in the other House, his Majesty was pleased to deliver from the Throne the following most gracious speech:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution.

"I have been induced to resort to this measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people, in the way in which it can be most constitutionally and authentically expressed, on the expediency of making such changes in the representation as circumstances may appear to require, and which, founded upon the acknowledged principles of the constitution, may tend at once to uphold the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, and to give security to the liberties of the people.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I thank you for the provision you have made for the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the Crown, and I offer you my special acknowledgments for the arrangements you have made for the state and comfort of my royal consort. I have also to thank you for the supplies which you have furnished for the public service. I have observed with satisfaction your endeavours to introduce a strict economy into every branch of that service, and I trust that the early attention of a new parliament, which I shall forthwith direct to be called, will be applied to the prosecution of that important object.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am happy to inform you that the friendly intercourse which subsists between myself and foreign powers, affords the best hopes of a continuance of peace, to the preservation of which my most anxious endeavours will be constantly directed.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In resolving to recur to the sense of my people in the present circumstances of the country, I have been influenced only by a paternal anxiety, for the contentment and happiness of my subjects, to promote which I rely with confidence on your continued and zealous assistance."

The LORD CHANCELLOR immediately said—My Lords and Gentlemen, it is his Majesty's Royal will and pleasure that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the 10th of May next, to be then and there holden, and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued till Tuesday, the 10th of May next.

The SPEAKER then read the Royal Speech, and the Members, without the slightest demonstration of feeling, immediately left the House, but not until all who could approach the Chair, amid the confusion, shook the hands of the right hon. Gentleman with the utmost kindness and cordiality, and evidently, as we conjectured, taking leave of him for the last time in his official situation.

SEEDS

For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

LOCUST SEED.—Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "**WOODLANDS**;" or **TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD.** 8vo. 14s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 10d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs. 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be

large, it may be sent by me. This seed was growed last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart; two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lb., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lb., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lb., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been

taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.

COBBETT'S CORN.—Having to quit my farm at *Michaelmas*, I could have no *Corn* there; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw. The *Tom Tit* has said, that it is “*a complete failure*,” and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by all the world, has been bawling about Lancashire, that this corn is “*not fit for a hog to eat, though I want the poor people to live on it.*” The answer to poor envious Tommy Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer to the malignant bleating beast might be given in *one very short word*. The great use of this corn is to the labourers. On ten rods of ground I have, this very adverse year, growed eight bushels of shelled corn; and that is sufficient to fat a pig of seven or eight score. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? It is in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would *fat a good large hog*; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to see the day, when the greater part of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to *distribute a little seed amongst the labourers*. In the *Two-Penny Trash for April*, I gave them instructions for the planting and management and application of this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 ears of the corn amongst the labourers of each of the counties of *Berks, Bucks, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Gloucester*, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have *bacon* to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 ears amongst those of the county of *Kent*, as a mark of my particular regard for the labourers

of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, *whom I know*, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a *Twopenny Trash* (containing the instructions) *along with each ear of corn*. I SELL THE CORN AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1s. A BUNCH OF FINE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the *Book*, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2s. 6d.; which is called a *TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN*.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, APRIL 22, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

APRIL 22.—BURTON, T., Bramham, Yorkshire, shoe-maker.

APRIL 22.—HALE, E., Trowbridge, Wiltshire, inn-keeper.

APRIL 22.—LENDEN, E., Tunbridge, Kent, victualler.

APRIL 23.—ROBINSON, T., Anchor-and-Hope-alley, St. George's-in-the-East, tallow-chandler.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

FARRAR, J. and J., Halifax and Bradford, common carriers.

KIDD, J., Brook-green-terrace, Hammer-smith, baker.

BANKRUPTS.

BIRCH, R., Oxford-street, pastry-cook.

DANDY, R., Great Driffield, Yorksh., grocer.

GOULDEN, W., sen., Leeds, tobacco-manufacturer.

HARGAN, H., St. John's-street, victualler.

HIERONS, W., Streatham, Surrey, coach-master.

KERBEY, H., Tottenham-ct.-rd., poulterer.

KIRK, T. B., Lichfield, chemist.

LAMBERT, J., Brough, Westmoreland, carpenter.

LYDD, E., Redditch, Worcestershire, needle-manufacturer.

LYNCH, J., Hison-green, Nottingham, tailor.

MARSDEN, T., Salford, Lancashire, machine-maker.

NEWTON, W., Philpot-street, Commercial-road, Mile-End, builder.

POCHIN, H., Cosby, Leicestershire, maltster.

RADLEY, J. L., Oldham, Lancashire, dealer.

RIDEOUT, H., Woolwich, inn-keeper.

SMART, N., Finchley, brick-maker.
WILLIAMS, J. and J., Houndsditch, copper-smiths.

TUESDAY, APRIL 26, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

APRIL 26.—ROUGHTON, L., Walbrook, chemist.

APRIL 26.—SIMPSON, H., Ball-court, Cornhill, tavern-keeper.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DRY, T., Tottenham-court-rd., linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BARTLETT, J., Trowbridge, Wiltsh., grocer.

DEBAC, P. B. G., Tavistock-square, builder.

HARDEN, W., Clapham, boot & shoe-maker.

HARDY, S., Wisbeach St. Peter's, Cambridgeshire, linen-draper.

HARGREAVES, R., Manchester, saddler.

HOOD, J. and J., Cork-street, Burlington-gardens, tailors.

PALLMER, C. N., Norbiton-house, Surrey, ship-owner.

PARKIN, W. and W., St. James's-street, hardwareman.

PILCHER, W., Farringdon-street, brewer.

ROBERTS, G., Ansford, Somersetshire, inn-keeper.

RISDON, J., Exeter, bookseller.

SANDERS, J., Launceston, Cornwall, tal-low-chandler.

SHAVE, W., Colchester, innkeeper.

STREATHER, R., Cambridge-heath, Mid-dlesex, builder.

SWIFT, I., Lane-end, Staffordshire, mercer.

VICKERS, J., Saxilby, Lincolnsh., victualler.

WHITLOCK, W., Irongate-wharf, Padding-ton, timber-merchant.

WYTHES, J., Stourbridge, Worcesters., grocer.

Beans, Small 40s. to 48s.
——— Tick 36s. to 44s.
Oats, Potatoe 27s. to 34s.
——— Poland 27s. to 31s.
——— Feed 24s. to 29s.
Flour, per sack 55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 42s. to 46s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new... 42s. to 44s.
Pork, India, new.. 118s. 6d. to —s. 6d.
Pork, Mess, new... 63s. to 65s. 0d. per bark.
Butter, Belfast 72s. 84s. per cwt.
——— Carlow 76s. to 86s.
——— Cork 74s. to 84s.
——— Limerick .. 92s. to 96s.
——— Waterford 72s. to 80s.
——— Dublin —s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire 50s. to 84s.
——— Gloucester, Double.. 56s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single... 50s. to 56s.
——— Edam 46s. to 50s.
——— Gouda 44s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish..... 50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD—April 25.

This day's market exhibited, throughout, but a moderate supply. The trade was, how-ever, with each kind of meat, very dull. With veal at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with beef, mutton, lamb, and pork, at barely Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,619; sheep and lambs, 17,010; calves, 135; pigs, 160.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	79½	79½	79	79½	78½	78½

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 29.

The supplies are rather short, but the market is very dull and something cheaper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 25.—

Our supplies, since this day ae'nnight, of En-glish wheat, barley, beans, peas, seeds, and flour, have been limited; of foreign wheat and barley, Irish and foreign oats, great; of En-glish oats and malt, as also foreign seeds and flour, moderately good. In this day's market, which was not very numerously attended, either by London or country buyers, the trade was, throughout, very dull.—With wheat generally, though a few small parcels of very superior quality, were said to have produced our last quotations, and inferior barleys at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter; with other kinds of corn, as also with pulse malt and flour at last week's prices. The seed trade is very dull at, if any difference, rather declin-ing prices.

Wheat 60s. to 70s.
Rye 36s. to 42s.
Barley 28s. to 35s.
——— fine 35s. to 46s.
Peas, White 38s. to 41s.
——— Boilers 43s. to 48s.
——— Grey 36s. to 40s.

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3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the la-bouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Vo-lume. Price 2s. 6d.

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